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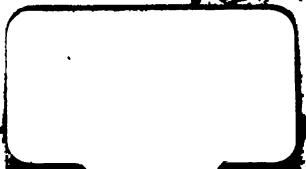
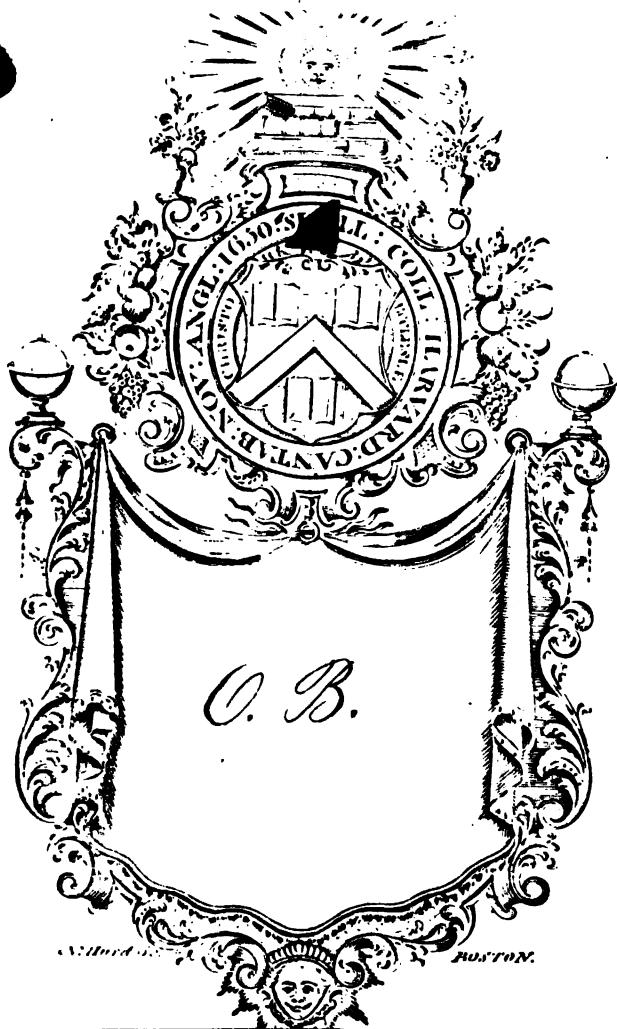
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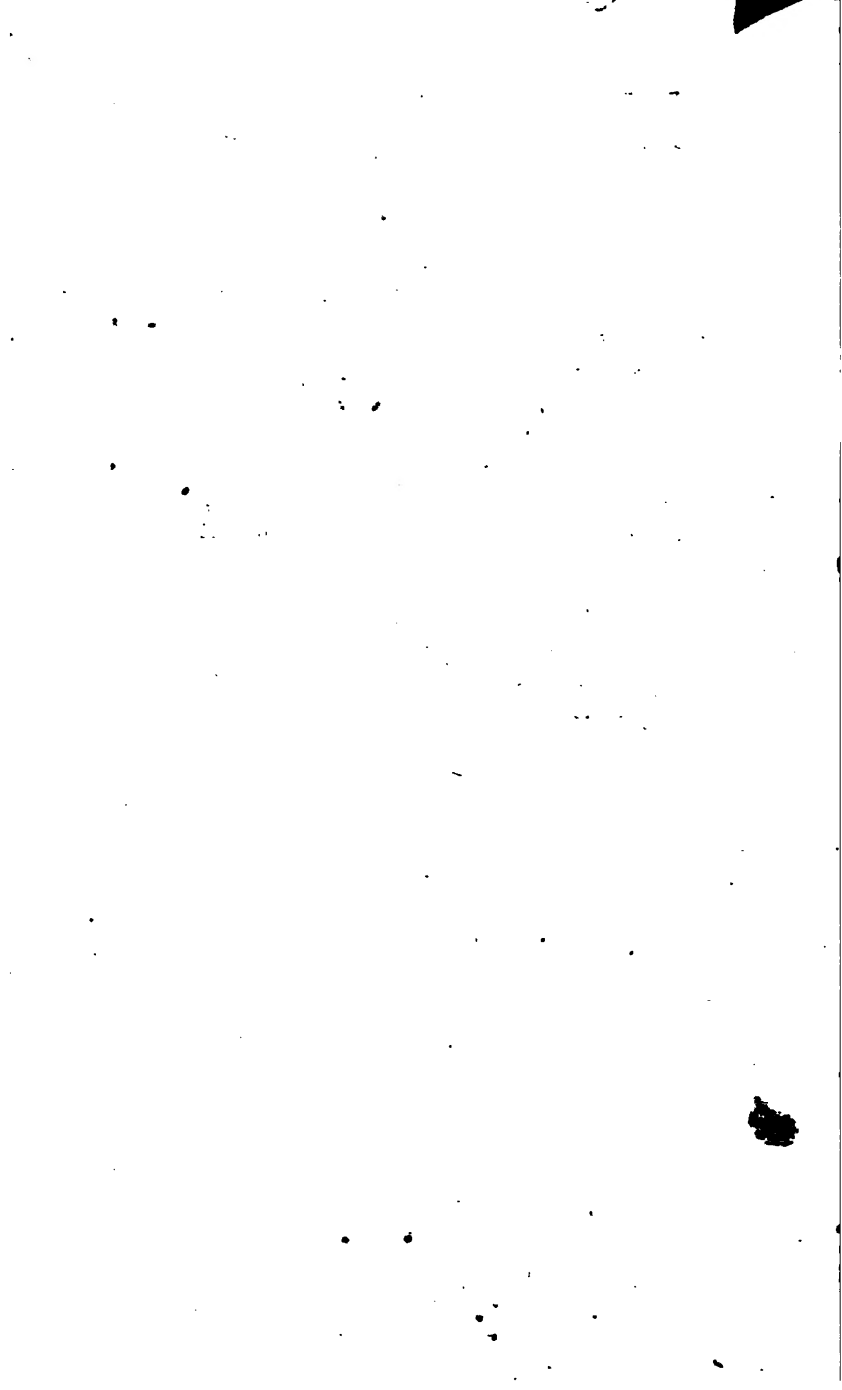
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Ernest Thackeray's sketch of a head

Andrew Porter



THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

V O L. III.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JAMES, JOHN and PAUL KNAPT
at the Crown in Ludgate-Street. MDCCLXXXV.

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KE 39753 (3)

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THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS and GRECIANS.

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History of Darius joined to that of the Greeks. Revolt and reduction of Babylon. Darius's expedition against the Scythians. He conquers India. Expedition of his generals into Greece. Life of Miltiades. Persians defeated at Marathon. Darius dies. Xerxes elected king. His history joined to that of the Greeks. Expedition of Xerxes into Greece. Battle of Thermopylæ, &c. Athens burnt by Xerxes. Battle of Salamis. Xerxes's return into Asia. Battle of Platææ. Lives of Pausanias and Themistocles. Death and character of Xerxes.

BOOK VII.

Artaxerxes Longimanus. Life of Cimon. Rebellion of Megabyzus. Eldras and Nehemiah sent to Jerusalem. Life of Pericles. Divisions between Athens and Sparta. Thucydides opposed to Pericles. Reigns of Gelon, Hiero, and Thrasylbulus in Sicily. History of some Grecian cities, and

famous Philosophers, as Pythagoras, &c. The Peloponnesian war. Siege of Platææ. Plague of Athens, &c. Death of Artaxerxes.

BOOK VIII.

Sequel of the Peloponnesian war, under the reigns of Xerxes II, Sogdianus, and Darius Nothus. Revolt of Egypt and Media. Expeditions of Brasidas into Thrace. Defeat of the Athenians. Death of Cleon and Brasidas. Life of Alcibiades. Nicias general of the Athenians. Their expedition against Sicily. Alcibiades, Nicias and Lamachus appointed to head it. Prosecution of Alcibiades. He is recalled, and flies to Sparta. Description of Syracuse. Siege laid to that city by Nicias. Exploits of Gylippus. Nicias overcome in a naval engagement, &c. Despondency of the Athenians. Nicias and Demosthenes taken prisoners by the Syracusans, and put to death, &c.

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THE ANTIENT .
 HISTORY
 OF THE
Persians and Grecians.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE I enter upon the history of the PERSIANS and GRECIANS, I shall, 1. prefix here some preliminary observations, to serve as an introduction thereto ; 2. give the plan and distribution of the several parts of this third volume ; and 3. an abridgment of the Lacedæmonian history, from the time of their first kings, till the reign of Darius, where this third volume begins.

ARTICLE I.

A short account of the history comprehended in this third volume. What use is to be made of it.

THIS third volume of the antient history, will present the reader with a quite new spectacle, such a spectacle as will be worth his attention. In the foregoing, we have seen two inconsiderable states, Media and Persia, spread them-
 B selves

selves far and wide, under the conduct of Cyrus, like a torrent or a devouring fire, and by an amazing rapidity conquer and subdue many provinces and kingdoms. Here we shall see that vast empire stirring up the several nations under its dominion, the Persians, the Medes, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians, and many others, and pouring out all the forces of Asia and the East upon a little country, of very small extent, and destitute of all foreign assistance; I mean Greece. When, on the one hand, we behold so many nations united together, such preparations of war made for several years with so much diligence; innumerable armies by sea and land, and such fleets as the sea could hardly contain: and, on the other hand, two weak cities, Athens and Lacedæmon, abandon'd by all their allies, and left almost entirely to themselves: have we not all the reason to believe, that these two little cities are going to be utterly destroyed and swallowed up by so formidable an enemy; and that there will not be so much as any footsteps of them left remaining? and yet we shall find, that these two cities prov'd victorious; and by their invincible courage, and the several battles they gained, both by sea and land, made the Persian empire lay aside all thoughts of ever turning any more their arms against Greece.

The recital of the war between the Persians and the Greeks, will illustrate the truth of this maxim, That it is not the number, but the valour of the troops, and the conduct of the generals, on which depends the success of military expeditions. Here the reader will admire the surprizing courage, and intrepidity of those great men that managed the Grecian affairs, who, when all the world combined against them, remained unshaken, and were not disconcerted by any calamities, or misfortunes; who undertook, with an handful of men, to make head against armies innumerable; who, notwithstanding such

such a prodigious inequality of forces, durst hope for success; who even compelled victory to range herself on the side of merit and virtue; and taught all succeeding generations what infinite resources and expedients are to be found in prudence, valour, and experience; in a zeal for liberty and our country; in the love of our duty, and in all the sentiments, noble and generous souls are inspir'd withal.

This war of the Persians against the Grecians will be followed by the account of another amongst the Greeks themselves, but of a very different kind from the former. In this latter, there will scarce be any actions, but what in appearance are of little consequence, and seemingly unfit for the gratification of the reader's curiosity, which is always thirsting after great events: here he will meet with little else than private quarrels between certain cities, or some small commonwealths; some inconsiderable sieges; (excepting that of Syracuse, one of the most important recorded in antient history) though several of these sieges lasted a considerable time; some battles between armies, where the numbers were small, and but little blood shed. What is it then, that has render'd these wars so celebrated in history? Sallust informs us in these words; “ * The actions of the
“ Athenians doubtless were great, and yet I believe
“ they were somewhat less than fame is for having us
“ to conceive of them. But because Athens had
“ noble writers, the acts of that republick are cele-
“ brated through the whole world as the most glo-
“ rious: and the gallantry of those heroes who per-
“ form'd them, has had the luck to be thought as

* *Atheniensium res gestæ, fidenti ego existimo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuerunt: verum aliquando minores tamen, quàm famâ feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium*

facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum, quæ fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuerunt extollere præclara ingenia. Sallust. in bell. Catilin.

“ transcendent as the eloquence of such wits as described them.”

Sallust, though jealous enough of the glory, the Romans had acquired by a series of distinguished actions, wherewith their history is full, yet he does justice in this passage to the Grecians, by acknowledging, that their exploits were truly great and illustrious; though somewhat inferiour, in his opinion, to their fame. What is then this foreign and borrowed lustre, which the Athenian actions have derived from the eloquence of their historians? It is, that the whole universe agrees in looking upon them as the greatest and most glorious, that were ever performed. *Per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur.* All nations seduced and enchanted, as it were, with the beauties of the Greek authors, think that people's exploits superior to any thing that was ever done by any other nation. This, according to Sallust, is the service the Greek authors have done the Athenians, by their excellent manner of describing their actions; and very unhappy it is for us, that our history, for want of the like assistance, has left a thousand bright actions and fine sayings unrecorded, which would have been set off with great lustre and advantage by the antient writers, and would have done great honour to our Country.

But, however this be, it must be confess'd, that we are not always to judge of the value of an action, or of the merit of the persons concerned in it, by the importance of the event. 'Tis rather in such little sieges and engagements, as we find recorded in the history of the Peloponnesian war, that the conduct and abilities of a general are truly conspicuous. Accordingly it is observed, that it was chiefly at the head of small armies, and in countries of little extent, that our greatest commanders of the last age distinguished their capacity, and behaved with a conduct, not inferiour to the most celebrated captains

INTRODUCTION.

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tains of antiquity. In actions of this sort, chance has no share, and does not cover any oversights, that are committed. Every thing is conducted and carried on by the prudence of the general. He is truly the soul of the army, which neither acts, nor moves, but by his direction. He sees every thing, and is present every where. Nothing escapes his vigilance and attention. Orders are seasonably given, and seasonably executed. Wiles, stratagems, false marches, real or feigned attacks, incampments, decampments, in a word, every thing depends upon him alone.

On this account the reading of the Greek historians, such as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, is of infinite service to young officers; because those historians, who were also excellent commanders, enter into all the particulars of the military art, and lead the readers, as it were, by the hand through all the sieges and battles they describe; shewing them by the example of the greatest generals in antiquity, and by a kind of anticipated experience, in what manner war is to be carried on.

Nor is it only with regard to military exploits, that the Grecian history affords us such excellent models. We shall there find celebrated legislators, able politicians, magistrates born for government, men, that have excelled in all arts and sciences, philosophers, that carried their enquiries, as far as was possible in those early times, and who have left us such maxims of morality, as many christians ought to blush at.

It is true, these very philosophers, notwithstanding their penetration in some points, were entirely blind and ignorant as to others, even to the degree of contesting some of the most evident principles of the law of nature; and very often they suffered their practice to bely their doctrine, and themselves to fall into the most gross debaucheries. The divine providence permitted it so to be, and thought fit to

give them up to a reprobate mind, in order to punish their pride, and to teach us by their example, what enormities men are capable of, even the wisest and most knowing, when they are left to their own weakness and natural depravity; and from what an abyss the mercy of our divine mediator has delivered us. But though they fell into some errors, both with respect to the understanding and the mind, which we are obliged to detest; yet that does not hinder their books from containing many excellent maxims, which, according to St. Austin, we are entitled to claim as a benefit appertaining to us, in the same manner as the Israelites, when they came out of Egypt, enriched themselves with the spoils thereof: for this has been the practice of all the saints: *Ipsi Gentiles siquid divinum & rectum in doctrinis suis habere potuerunt, non improbaverunt sancti nostri.*

The same thing may be said with regard to the virtuous actions of the Heathens, whereof we shall find a great abundance in the Grecian history. We are * told by St. Austin, that according to the rule of justice, *secundum justitiæ regulam*, we ought to be so far from blaming and condemning those actions, that we are obliged in reason to commend and extol them. Not that those actions were good and praise-worthy in every respect; St. Austin was very far from entertaining such an opinion. † He looked upon them only as good in their nature, and with respect to the duty of the agents: but as to

* *Habendi sunt in eorum numero, quorum etiam impiorum, nec Deum verum veraciter justique colentium, quædam tamen facta vel legimus, vel novimus, vel audimus, quæ secundum justitiæ regulam non solum vituperare non possumus, verum etiam merito recteque laudamus.* S. Aug. lib. de Spir. & lit. n. 48.

† *Noveris itaque non officiis sed finibus à vitiis discernendas esse virtutes. Officium autem est, quod faciendum est; finis verò propter quod faciendum est.* Id. contr. Julian. lib. 4. c. 3. n. 21. *Non erat in eis vera justitia, quia non actibus sed finibus pensantur officia.* Ibid. n. 26.

the end, for which they were done, that father thought them very blameable, because they were not directed to the glory of God. These men had no recourse to the true God, (for him they did not know) nor was it to him they addressed themselves for wisdom in their counsels, success in their undertakings, the improvement of their talents or their virtue. It was not to the true God, they returned thanks for these blessings ; nor did they give him the glory of them by an humble acknowledgment. They did not consider him, either as the source and principle, or as the end of all the good they were capable of doing. Their best actions were corrupted either by self-love or ingratitude : they could not therefore be available towards salvation, which is only to be obtained through faith in Jesus Christ.

But notwithstanding this, according to the same father, it may be very serviceable to christians, both for their instruction and the regulation of their manners, to have the virtuous actions of the heathens laid before them in their full light, provided they set not too high a value upon them : for what the same father says of the virtues of the antient Romans, may surely be applied to those of the Grecians. He employs a whole chapter, and that a pretty long one, in pointing out the most illustrious actions and signal virtues of that people : as their love of the commonweal ; their devoted attachment to their country ; their constancy in suffering the most cruel torments, and even death itself ; their noble and generous disinterestedness ; their esteeming and chusing poverty ; their profound reverence for religion and the gods. He makes several reflections upon this subject, which well deserve to be recited on this occasion

St. Auft.
de Civ.
D. l. 5.
c. 18.

In the first place he supposeth, that it was in order to recompence the Romans for all these virtues, which yet were virtues only in name and appearance, that the divine providence gave them the empire of

the universe, a recompence very suitable to their deserts, and which they were weak enough to be contented withal. * For the same reason he supposes God thought fit to let their name be so glorious, and so much esteemed by all nations and in all ages, that so many great and illustrious actions should not pass entirely unrewarded.

In the second place he observes, that such virtues, notwithstanding their being false, are of publick advantage to mankind, and that they enter into the secret designs of God towards the punishing, or rewarding of his creatures. The love of glory, which is a vice, yet serves to suppress many other vices, of a more hurtful and mischievous nature, such as injustice, violence, and cruelty. And can it be questioned, † whether a magistrate, a governor of a province, or a sovereign, that are gentle, patient, just, chaste, and beneficent; though merely upon human motives of interest or vain-glory, are not infinitely more serviceable to the commonwealth, than they would be, if they were destitute of those external appearances and shadows of virtue; and that men of such dispositions may be reckoned among the most valuable presents of heaven? We may the better judge of this matter, if we do but compare such magistrates and princes with those of a contrary character, who, laying aside all honour and probity, despising reputation, and trampling upon the most sacred laws, acknowledge no other law, than that of their brutish passions: who are, in a word, such as God in his wrath sends

* *Si Romanis Deus neque hanc terrenam gloriam excellentissimi imperii concederet, non redderetur merces bonis artibus eorum, (i. e.) virtutibus, quibus ad tantam gloriam pervenire nitebantur. At non est quod de summi & veri dei justitia conque-*

tur: perceperunt mercedem suam. Ibid. cap. 15.

† *Considat eos, qui cives non sunt civitatis æternæ, utiliiores esse terrænæ civitati, quando habent virtutem vel ipsam, quam si nec ipsam. Ibid. cap. 19.*

to a nation, he has a mind to punish, and which he thinks worthy of such masters. *Et talibus quidem Ibid. c. dominandi potestas non datur nisi summi dei provi-* 19.
dentiâ, quando res humanas judicat talibus dominis dignas.

The third and last reflection this father makes, and which is the most pertinent to my subject, and to the end I propose in writing this antient history, relates to the use that ought to be made of the praises given to the virtuous heathens. It shews what advantage a prudent reader should reap from the recital of the gallant exploits and virtuous actions of the Grecians, which will be the principal subject of this, and the following volumes. When we see these men sacrificing their estates and fortunes to the relief of their fellow citizens, their lives to the preservation of the state, and even their fame and glory to the publick good ; when we see them practising the most difficult virtues, and that on motives purely human, in order to acquire a transient reputation : * what reproaches ought we not to make to our selves, and how much ought we to be ashamed, if, professing a religion, that recommends it self to us by the promises of an eternal recompence, and has such powerful motives to enforce our love and gratitude, we yet want the courage and resolution to practise the same virtues ? And if we are so happy as to fulfil our engagements, and duty, how can we be proud of it, when we consider how much greater things were done on a motive of mere vain-glory, by men, who knew not God, and who confined all their desires to the goods of this present life ?

This then, according to St. Austin, is the principal use, that is to be made of the study and reading

* *Ideo vobis proposita sunt necessaria comminationis exempla, ut, si virtutes quarum istæ utcumque sunt similes, quas isti pro civitatis terrene gloriâ tenebant,*

pro Dei gloriosissimâ civitate non tenerimus, pudore pungamur ; si, tenerimus, superbiam non extollamur. Ibid. c. 18.

of prophane history : nor did the * divine providence suffer the Greeks and Romans to become so famous and illustrious, but in order to give the greater weight to those examples of virtue, wherewith their history abounds, that by our reading them with seriousness and attention, we should learn, from the love they bore to an earthly country, and to a glory of so short a duration, what longing we ought to have for an heavenly country, where an eternity of happiness is to be our reward.

If the virtues of the Persians, recorded in history, may serve us for patterns in the conduct of our lives ; so may their vices and failings, on the other hand, be no less proper to serve for our caution and instruction ; and the strict regard, which an historian is obliged to pay to truth, will not allow him to dissemble the latter, out of fear of eclipsing the lustre of the former. Nor does what I here advance, contradict the rule laid down by Plutarch, on the same subject, in his preface to the life of Cimon. He requires, that the illustrious actions of great men be represented in their full light : but as to the faults, which may sometimes escape them through passion or surprize, or into which they may be drawn by the necessity of affairs, † looking upon them rather as a certain degree of perfection, which is wanting to their virtue, than as vices or crimes, that proceed from any corruption of the heart ; such imperfections as these, he would have the historian, out of compassion to the weakness of human nature, which produceth nothing entirely perfect, content himself with touching very lightly : in the same manner as an able painter, when he has a

In Cim.
p. 479, &
480.

* *Ut cives aeternæ illius civitatis, quamdiu hic peregrinantur, diligenter & sobriè illa intueantur exempla, & videant quanta dilectio debeatur supernæ patriæ propter vitam æternam,*

si tantum à suis civibus terrena dilectæ est propter minimam gloriam. Ibid. c. 16.

† *Ἐδιδόμην μάλιστα ἀρετῆς τι-
νός, ἢ κακίας κοινωμένης.*

fine face to draw, in which he finds some little blemish, or defect, does neither entirely suppress it, nor think himself obliged to represent it with a strict exactness; because the one would spoil the beauty of the picture, and the other would destroy the likeness. The very comparison Plutarch uses, shows, that he speaks only of slight and excusable faults. But as to actions of injustice, violence, and brutality, they ought not to be concealed, or disguised on any account; nor can we suppose, that the same privilege should be allowed in history as is in painting; which invented the * profile, to represent the side-face of a prince, who had lost an eye, and by that means ingeniously concealed so disagreeable a deformity. History, the most essential law whereof is sincerity, will by no means admit of such indulgences, which indeed would deprive it of its greatest advantage.

Shame, reproach, infamy, hatred, and the execrations of the publick, which are the inseparable attendants on criminal and brutish actions, are no less proper to excite an horror for vice; than the glory which perpetually waits upon good actions, is proper to inspire us with the love of virtue. And these †, according to Tacitus, are the two ends, which every historian ought to propose to himself, by making a judicious choice of what is most extraordinary both in good and evil, in order to have that publick homage paid to virtue, which is justly due to it; and to create the greater abhorrence for vice, on account of that eternal infamy that attends it.

* *Habet in pictura speciem tota facies. Apelles tamen imaginem Antigoni latere tantum altero ostendit, ut amissi oculi deformitas lateret. Quin. l. 2. c. 13.*

† *Exequi sententias baud in-*

stui, nisi insignes per bonestum aut notabili dedecore: quod principum munus annalium reor ne virtutes fileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate & infamia metus sit. Tacit. Ann. lib. 3. cap. 65.

The history I write does but furnish too many examples of the latter sort. With respect to the Persians, it will appear, by what is said of their kings, that those princes, who have all the power in their own hands, are often given up to all their passions; that nothing is more difficult than to resist the delusions of a man's own greatness, and the flatteries of those that surround him; that the power of gratifying all one's desires, and of doing evil with impunity, is a dangerous situation; that the best dispositions can hardly withstand such a temptation; that, even after having preserved themselves in the beginning, they are insensibly corrupted by softness and effeminacy, by pride, and their aversion to sincere advice; and that it rarely happens they are wise enough to consider that, when they find themselves exalted above all laws and restraints, they stand then most in need of moderation and wisdom, both in regard to themselves and others; and that in such a situation they ought to be doubly wise, and doubly strong, in order inwardly to set bounds by their reason to a power, that has none outwardly.

With respect to the Grecians, the Peloponnesian war will show the miserable effects of their intestine divisions, and the fatal excesses, into which they were led by their thirst of dominion: scenes of injustice, ingratitude, and perfidiousness, together with the open violation of treaties, or mean artifices and unworthy tricks to elude their execution. It will show, how scandalously the Lacedæmonians and Athenians debased themselves towards the Barbarians, in order to beg some aids of money from them: how shamefully the great deliverers of Greece renounced the glory of all their past labours and exploits, by stooping and making their court to certain haughty and insolent Satrapæ, and by going, one after another, and with emulation, to implore the protection of the common enemy, whom they had

had so often conquered ; and how they employed the succours they obtained from them, in oppressing their antient allies, and extending their own territories by unjust and violent incroachments.

On both sides, and sometimes in the same person, we shall find a surprizing mixture of good and bad, of virtues and vices, of glorious actions and mean sentiments ; and sometimes perhaps we shall be ready to ask ourselves, whether these can be the same persons and the same people, of whom such different things are related ; and whether it be possible, that such a bright and shining light, and such thick clouds of smock and darkness, can proceed from the same matter. I relate things, as I find them in antient authors ; and the pictures I present the reader with are always drawn after those original monuments, which history has transmitted to us, concerning the persons I speak of ; and, I might likewise add, after human nature itself. But, in my opinion, even this medley of good and evil, though very odd in itself, may be of great advantage to us, and serve as a preservative against a danger both very common and very natural,

For if we found, either in any nation, or particular persons, a probity and a nobleness of sentiments always uniform, and free from all blemish and weakness, we should be tempted to believe that heathenism is capable of producing genuine and perfect virtues, though our religion teaches us, that those virtues we most admire among the heathens, are really no more than the shadow and appearance of them. But when we see the defects and imperfections, the vices and crimes, and those sometimes of the blackest die, that are intermixed with, and often very closely follow their most virtuous actions ; we are taught thereby to moderate our esteem and admiration of them, and at the same time, that we commend what appears noble, worthy and great among the Pagans, not prodigally to pay to the
phantom

phantom of virtue, that entire and unreserved homage, which is only due to virtue itself.

With these restrictions I desire to be understood, when I praise the great men of antiquity and their illustrious actions ; and if, contrary to my intention, any expressions should escape me, which may seem to be not sufficiently guarded, I desire the reader to interpret them candidly, and reduce them to their just value and meaning.

ARTICLE II.

The general plan and division of the third volume.

THE history contained in this third volume comprehends the space of one hundred and seventeen years, during the reigns of six kings of Persia ; namely, Darius, the first of the name, who was the son of Hystaspes ; Xerxes the first ; Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus ; Xerxes the second ; Sogdianus ; (the two last of which reigned but a very little time) and Darius the second, commonly called Darius Nothus. This history begins at the year of the world 3483, and reaches to the year 3600. As this whole period naturally divides itself into two parts, I shall also divide it into two distinct books.

PART THE FIRST.

The first part, which consists of ninety years, reaches from the beginning of the reign of Darius the first, to the forty second year of Artaxerxes, the same year in which began the Peloponnesian war, that is, from the year of the world 3483, to the year 3573. This part chiefly contains the different enterprizes and expeditions of the Persians against Greece, which never abounded more in great men
and

and great events, nor ever displayed more conspicuous or more solid virtues. Here you will see the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Artemisa, Salamina, Platææ, Mycale, Eurymedon, &c. Here the most eminent commanders of Greece signalized their courage, Miltiades, Leonidas, Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Pausanias, Pericles, Thucydides, &c.

To enable the reader the more easily to recollect, what passed within this space of time among the Jews, and also among the Romans, the history of both which nations is entirely foreign to that of the Persians and Greeks, I shall here set down in few words the principal epochs relating to their affairs.

The people of God were at this time returned from their Babylonish captivity to Jerusalem, under the conduct of Zorobabel. Usher is of opinion, that the history of Esther ought to be placed in the reign of Darius. The Israelites, under the shadow of this prince's protection, and animated thereto by the warm exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, did at last finish the building of the temple, which had been interrupted for many years by the cabals of their enemies. Artaxerxes was no less favourable to the Jews than Darius : he first of all sent Ezra to Jerusalem, who restored the publick worship, and the observation of the law ; then Nehemiah, who caused walls to be built round the city, and fortified it against the attacks of their neighbours, who were jealous of its reviving greatness. 'Tis thought that Malachi, the last of the prophets, was contemporary with Nehemiah, or that he prophesied not long after him.

The first year of Darius was the 233d of the building of Rome. Tarquin, the proud, was then on the Throne, and about ten years afterwards was deposed. The consular state was then instituted, instead of the royal government. In the succeeding part of this period happened the war against Por-
senna ;

fenna ; the creation of the Tribunes of the people ; Coriolanus's retreat among the Volsci, and the war that ensued thereupon ; the wars of the Romans against the Latins, the Veientes, the Volsci, and other neighbouring nations ; the death of Virginia under the Decemvirate ; the disputes between the people and senate about marriages and the consulship, which occasioned the creating of military Tribunes, instead of consuls. This period of time terminates in the 323d year from the foundation of Rome.

PART THE SECOND.

The second part of this volume, which consists of twenty seven years, reaches from the 42d year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the death of Darius Nothus ; that is, from the year of the world 3573, to the year 3600. It principally contains the Peloponnesian war, which lasted twenty seven years, of which Greece and Sicily were the seat, and wherein the Grecians triumphed over the Barbarians, and then turned their arms one against another. Among the Athenians, Pericles, Nicias, and Alcibiades ; among the Lacedæmonians, Brasidas, Gylippus, and Lysander, distinguished themselves in the most extraordinary manner.

Sacred history, during the space of these twenty seven years we are speaking of, is very barren, or, to speak more properly, is entirely silent.

Rome continues to be agitated by different disputes between the senate and people. Towards the end of this period, and about the 350th year of Rome, the Romans formed the siege of Veij, which lasted ten years.

PART THE THIRD.

To these two parts which contain a continued series of history, I shall add a third, that may possibly be pretty large, and of which, for that reason,
I shall

I shall be obliged to reserve a good part for the next volume.

In the first place I shall there collect together several particular and separate facts, which could not well enter into the lives of those great men I have had occasion to speak of, and which nevertheless may contribute very much to let us into a true knowledge of their characters. This part I shall call a *Supplement to the Grecian history*.

In the next place, I shall make some reflections upon the government, the manners, and characters of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.

Lastly, I shall give some account of the great men; who distinguished themselves in the arts and sciences during the period of time included in this history.

ARTICLE III.

An abridgment of the Lacedæmonian history, from the first settlement of their kings, to the reign of Darius the first king of Persia.

I HAVE already observed in a former volume, that A. M. eighty years after the taking of Troy, the Hera-^{2900.}clides, that is, the descendants of Hercules, returned ^{Ant. J. C.}into the Peloponnesus, and made themselves masters ^{1104.}of Lacedæmon, where two of them, that were brothers, Euristhenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, reigned jointly together. Herodotus observes, that ^{Lib. 6.}these two brothers were, during their whole lives, at ^{c. 50.}variance, and that almost all their descendants inherited the like disposition of mutual hatred and antipathy: so true is it, that the sovereign power will admit of no partnership, and that two kings will always be too many for one kingdom! However, after the death of these two, the descendants of both still continued to sway the scepter jointly: and, what is

very remarkable, these two branches subsisted for near nine hundred years, from the return of the Heraclides into the Peloponnesus to the death of Cleomenes, and supplied Sparta with kings without interruption, and that generally in a regular succession from father to son, especially in the elder branch of the family.

S E C T. I.

The origin and condition of the Ilotes, or Elotæ.

WHEN the Lacedæmonians first began to settle in the Peloponnesus, they met with great opposition from the inhabitants of the country, whom they were obliged to subdue one after another by force of arms, or receive into their alliance on easy and equitable terms, as the paying them a small tribute. Strabo speaks of a city, called Elos, not far from Sparta, which, after having submitted to the yoke, < as others had done, revolted openly and refused to pay the tribute. Agis, the son of Euristhenes, newly settled in the throne, was sensible of the dangerous tendency of this first revolt, and therefore immediately marched with an army against them, together with Soüs his colleague. They laid siege to the city, which after a pretty long resistance, was forced to surrender at discretion. This prince thought it proper to make such an example of them, as should intimidate all their neighbours, and deter them from the like attempts, and yet not alienate their minds by too cruel a treatment. For which reason he put none to death. He spared the lives of all the inhabitants, but at the same time took away their liberty, and reduced them all to a state of slavery. From thence forward they were employed in all mean and servile offices, and treated with extreme rigour. These were the people who were called Elotæ. The number of them exceedingly increased in process of time,

Lib. 8.
p. 365.
Plut. in
Lyc.
p. 40.

time, the Lacedæmonians giving undoubtedly the same name to all the people they reduced to the same condition of servitude. ✕ As they themselves were averse to labour, and entirely addicted to war, they left the care of tilling and managing their lands to these slaves, assigning every one of them a certain portion of ground, of which they were obliged to carry the products every year to their respective masters, who endeavoured by all sorts of ill usage to make their yolk more grievous and insupportable. This was certainly very bad policy, and could only tend to breed a vast number of dangerous enemies in the very heart of the state, who were always ready to take arms and revolt on every occasion. The Romans acted more prudently in this respect; for they incorporated the conquered nations into their state, granted them the privilege of being denizens, and thereby converted them, from enemies, into brethren and fellow-citizens. ✕

S E C T. II.

Lycurgus the Lacedæmonian law-giver,

EURYTION, or Eurypon, as he is named Plut. in Lyc. p. 40. by others, succeeded Soüs. In order to gain his people's good-will, and render his government acceptable to them, he thought fit to recede in some points from the absolute power exercised by the kings his predecessors: this rendered his name so dear to his subjects, that all his successors were, from him, called Eurytionides. But this relaxation produced in Sparta a horrible confusion, and an unbounded licentiousness, which caused there for a long time infinite mischiefs. The people became so insolent, that nothing could restrain them. If Eurytion's successors attempted to recover their authority by force, they became odious; and if, through complaisance or weakness, they chose to dissemble,

their meekness served only to render them contemptible: so that every thing ran into a general disorder, and the laws were no longer hearkened to. These confusions hastened the death of Lycurgus's father, whose name was Eunomus, and who was killed in an insurrection. Polydectes, his eldest son and successor, dying soon after without children, every body expected Lycurgus would have been king. And indeed he was so in effect, as long as the pregnancy of his brother's wife was uncertain: but as soon as that was manifest, he declared, that the kingdom belonged to her child, in case it proved a son: and from that moment he administered the government, as guardian to his unborn nephew, under the title of Prodicos, which was the name given by the Lacedæmonians to the guardians of their kings. When the child was born, Lycurgus took him in his arms, and cryed out to the company that was present, *Behold, my lords of Sparta, this new-born child is your king*: and at the same time he put the infant into the king's seat, and named him Charilaus, because of the joy the people testified at his birth. The reader will find, towards the end of the second volume of this history, all that relates to the story of Lycurgus, the reformation he made in Sparta, and the excellent laws he there established. Agefilas was at this time king in the elder branch of the family.

S E C T . III.

War between the Argians and the Lacedæmonians.

Her. 1. 1.
c. 12.

SOME time after this, in the reign of Theopompus, a war broke out between the Argians and the Lacedæmonians, on account of a little country, called Thyrea, that lay upon the confines of the two nations, and which each of them pretended a right to. When the two armies were ready to

to engage, it was agreed on both sides, in order to spare effusion of blood, that the quarrel should be decided by three hundred of the bravest men chosen out of the two armies, and that the land in question should become the property of the conquering party. To give the combatants more room to engage, the two armies retired at some distance. Then those generous champions, who had all the courage of two mighty armies, boldly advanced towards one another, and fought with so much resolution and fury, that the whole number, except three men, two on the side of the Argians, and one on the side of the Lacedæmonians, lay dead upon the spot: and it was the night only that parted them. The two Argians, looking upon themselves as the conquerors, made what haste they could to Argos to carry the news: the single Lacedæmonian, Othryades by name, instead of retiring, stript the dead bodies of the Argians, and carrying their arms into the Lacedæmonian camp, continued in his post. The next day the two armies returned to the field of battle. Both sides laid equal claim to the victory: the Argians, because they had more of their champions left alive, than the enemy had; the Lacedæmonians, because the two Argians, that remained alive, had fled; whereas their single soldier had remained master of the field of battle, and had carried off the spoils of the enemy. In short, they could not determine the dispute without coming to another engagement. Here fortune declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, and the little territory of Thyrea was the prize of their victory. But Othryades, not able to bear the thoughts of surviving his brave companions, or of enduring the sight of Sparta after their death, killed himself on the same field of battle, where they had fought, resolving to share the same common fate, and to lie in the same common grave with his fellow-champions.

S E C T. IV.

Wars between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians.

TH E R E were no less than three several wars between the Messenians and the Lacedæmonians, all of them very fierce and bloody. Messenia was a country in Peloponnesus, westward, and not far from Sparta, which was of a considerable strength, and had its own particular kings.

THE FIRST MESSENIAN WAR.

The first Messenian war lasted full twenty years, and broke out the 2d year of the ninth Olympiad. The Lacedæmonians pretended to have received several considerable injuries from the Messenians, and among others, that of having had their daughters ravished by the inhabitants of Messenia, when they went, according to custom, to a temple, that stood on the borders of the two nations; as also that of the murder of Telecles, their king, which was a consequence of the former. Probably a desire of extending their dominion, and of seizing a territory which lay so convenient for them, might be the true cause of the war. But be that as it will, the war broke out in the reign of Polydorus and Theopompus kings of Sparta, the time when the office of the Archontes at Athens was still decennial.

Euphaes, the thirteenth descendant from Hercules, was then king of Messenia. He gave the command of his army to Cleonnis. The Lacedæmonians opened the campaign with the siege of Amphea, a small, inconsiderable city, which however, they thought, would be very proper to make an arsenal. The town was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. But this first blow served only to animate the Messenians, by showing them what they were to expect from the enemy, if they

An. M.

3261.

Ant. J. C.

743.

Paus. 1. 4.

p. 216—

240.

Justin.

l. 3. c. 4.

Paus.

p. 223. &

226.

they did not defend themselves courageously. The Lacedæmonians, on their part, bound themselves by an oath, not to lay down their arms, or return to Sparta, till they had made themselves masters of all the cities and lands belonging to the Messenians; such an assurance had they of the success of their arms, and of their invincible courage. Two battles were fought, wherein the loss was pretty equal on both sides. But after the second, the Messenians suffered extremely through the want of provisions, which occasioned a great desertion in their troops, and at last brought the plague among them. Ibid. p. 227-234.

Hereupon they consulted the oracle of Delphos, which directed them, in order to appease the wrath of the gods, to offer up a virgin of the royal blood in sacrifice. Aristomenes, who was of the race of the Epytides, offered his own daughter. Then the Messenians considering, that if they left garrisons in all their towns, they should extremely weaken their army, resolved to abandon all their towns, except Ithoma, a little place seated on the top of a hill of the same name, about which they incamped and fortified themselves. In this situation were seven years spent, during which nothing passed but little skirmishes on both sides, the Lacedæmonians not daring in all that time to force the enemy to a battle.

Indeed they almost despaired of being able to reduce them; nor was there any thing, but the obligation of the oath, wherewith they had engaged themselves, that made them continue so burdensome a war. What gave them the greatest uneasiness, was, their apprehension, lest their absence and distance from their wives for so many years, and which might still continue many more, should destroy their families at home, and leave Sparta destitute of citizens. To prevent this misfortune, they sent home such of their soldiers, as were come to Diod. lib. 15. p. 778.

the army, since the fore-mentioned oath had been taken, and made no scruple of prostituting their wives to their embraces. The children, that sprung from these unlawful copulations, were called Partheniatæ, a name given them to denote the infamy of their birth. As soon as they were grown up, not being able to endure such an opprobrious distinction, they banished themselves from Sparta with one consent, and under the conduct of * Phalanthus, went and settled at Tarentum in Italy, after driving out thence the antient inhabitants.

Pauf. p.
234, 235.
Diod. in
Frag.

At last, in the 8th year of the war, which was the 13th of Euphaes's reign, a fierce and bloody battle was fought near Ithoma. Euphaes pierced through the battalions of Theopompus with too much heat and precipitation for a king. He there received a multitude of wounds, several of which were mortal. He fell, and seemed to give up the ghost. Whereupon wonderful efforts of courage were exerted on both sides; by the one, to carry off the king; by the other, to save him. Cleonnis killed eight Spartans, who were dragging him along, and spoiled them of their arms, which he committed to the custody of some of his soldiers. He himself received several wounds, all in the forepart of his body, which was a certain proof, that he had never turned his back upon his enemies. Aristomenes fighting on the same occasion, and for the same end, killed five Lacedæmonians, whose spoils he likewise carried off, without receiving any wound. In short, the King was saved and carried off by the Messenians, and, all mangled and bloody as he was, he expressed great joy, that they had not been worsted. Aristomenes, after the battle was over, met Cleonnis, who, by reason of his wounds, could neither walk by himself, nor with the assistance of those that lent him their hands. He therefore took

* *Et regnata potam Læconi iura Phalanto. Her. Ode 6. l. 2.*

him upon his shoulders without quitting his arms, and carried him to the camp.

As soon as they had applied the first dressing to the wounds of the king of Messenia and of his officers, there arose a new combat among the Messenians, that was pursued with as much warmth as the former, but was of a very different kind, and yet the consequence of the other. The affair in question was the adjudging the prize of glory to him, that had most signalized his bravery in the late engagement. For it was even then an antient custom among them, publicly to proclaim after a battle, the name of the man, that had shewed the greatest courage. Nothing could be more proper to animate the officers and soldiers, to inspire them with resolution and intrepidity, and to stifle the natural apprehension of death and danger. Two illustrious champions entered the lists on this occasion, namely, Cleonnis and Aristomenes.

The king, notwithstanding his weak condition, being attended with the principal officers of his army, presided in the council, where this important dispute was to be decided. Each competitor pleaded his own cause. Cleonnis began, and founded his pretensions upon the great number of the enemies he had slain, and upon the multitude of wounds he had received in the action, which were so many undoubted testimonies of the courage, wherewith he had faced both death and danger: whereas, according to him, the condition, in which Aristomenes came out of the engagement, without hurt and without wound, seemed to shew, that he had been very careful of his own person, or at most could only prove, that he had been more fortunate than he, but not more brave, or courageous. And as to his having carried him on his shoulders into the camp, that action indeed might serve to prove the strength of his body, but nothing further :
and

and the thing in dispute at this time, says he, is not strength, but bravery.

The only thing Aristomenes was reproached for, was, that he was not wounded : therefore he stuck only to that point, and answered in the following manner : “ I am, says he, called fortunate, because
 “ I have escaped from the battle without wounds.
 “ If that were owing to my cowardise, I should deserve another epithet than that of fortunate ; and
 “ instead of being admitted to dispute the prize, I ought to undergo the rigour of the laws, that are
 “ made against cowards. But what is objected to me, as a crime, is in truth my greatest glory.
 “ For whether it be, that the enemies, astonished at
 “ my valour, durst not venture to attack or oppose me, it is no small degree of merit, that I made
 “ them dread and avoid me ; or if it be, that whilst they engaged me, I had at the same time
 “ both strength to cut them in pieces, and skill to guard against their attacks, I must then have
 “ been at once both valiant and prudent. For whoever, in the midst of an engagement, can expose himself to dangers with caution and prudence, shews, that he excels at the same time
 “ both in the virtues of the mind and the body. As for courage, no man living can reproach
 “ Cleonnis with any want of it : but for his honour’s sake I am sorry, that he should appear to
 “ want gratitude.”

After the conclusion of these harangues, they proceed to voting. The whole army is in suspense, and impatiently waits for the decision. No dispute could be so warm and interesting as this. + It is not a competition for gold or silver, but for honour alone. The proper reward of virtue is pure, disinterested glory. Here the judges are unsuspected. The actions of the parties still speak for them. + It is the king himself, surrounded with his officers, who presides and pronounces. It is a whole army that

that are the witnesses. The field of battle is a tribunal without partiality and without cabal. In short, all the votes concurred in favour of Aristomenes, and adjudged him the prize.

Euphaes, the King, died not many days after Paus. l. 4. p. 235, 241. the decision of this affair. He had reigned thirteen years, and during all that time been engaged in war with the Lacedæmonians. As he died without children, he left the Messenians at liberty to chuse his successor. Cleonnis and Damis were candidates in opposition to Aristomenes: but he was elected king preferably to the others. When he was on the throne, he did not scruple to confer on his two rivals the principal offices of the state. Being all strongly attached to the publick good, even more than to their own glory, competitors, but not enemies, these great men burned with a zeal for their country, and were neither friends nor adversaries to one another, but in order to preserve the commonweal.

In the account of this matter, I have followed Memoirs of the Acad. of Inscript. Vol. 2. p. 84-115. the opinion of the late Monsieur Boivin, the elder, and have made use of his learned dissertation upon a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which the world was little acquainted with. He supposes and proves therein, that the king, spoken of in that fragment, is Euphaes; and that Aristomenes is the same that Pausanias calls Aristodemus, according to the custom of the antients, who were often called by two different names.

Aristomenes, otherwise called, Aristodemus, reigned near seven years, and was equally esteemed and beloved by his subjects. The war still continued all this time. Towards the end of his reign Clem. Alex. in Protrop. p. 20. Euseb. in Præpar. l. 4. c. 16. he beat the Lacedæmonians, took their king Theopompus, and in honour of Jupiter of Ithoma, sacrificed three hundred of their men, among whom their King was the principal victim. Shortly after, Aristodemus sacrificed himself upon the tomb of his

his daughter, to satisfy the answer of an oracle. Damiis was his successor, but without taking upon him the title of king.

Pauf. p. 241-247. After his death, the Messenians never had any success in their affairs, but found themselves in a very wretched and hopeless condition. Being reduced to the last extremity, and utterly destitute of provisions, they abandoned Ithoma, and fled to such of their allies, as were nearest to them. The city was immediately raz'd, and all the people that remained submitted. They were made to engage themselves by oath never to forsake the party of the Lacedæmonians, and never to revolt from them: a very useless precaution; which would only serve to make them add the guilt of perjury to their rebellion. Their new masters imposed no tribute upon them; but contented themselves with obliging them to bring to the Spartan market one half of the corn they should reap in their harvest. It was likewise stipulated, that the Messenians, both men and women, should attend, in mourning on the funerals either of the kings, or chief citizens of Sparta: which the Lacedæmonians probably looked upon as a mark of the others dependance, and as a kind of homage paid to their nation. Thus ended the first Messenian war, after having lasted twenty years.

A. M.
3281.
Ant. J. C.
723.

THE SECOND MESSENIAN WAR.

Pauf. l. 4. p. 242, 261. The gentleness wherewith the Lacedæmonians treated the Messenian people at first, was of no long duration. When once they found the whole country had submitted, and thought the people incapable of giving them any further trouble, they returned to their natural character, which was a disposition of insolence and haughtiness, that often degenerated into cruelty, and sometimes even into ferocity. Instead of treating the vanquished with kindness, as friends and allies, and endeavouring by gentle methods

Justin. l. 3. cap. 5.

rhods to win those, they had subdued by force, they seemed intent upon nothing but aggravating their yolk, and making them feel the whole weight of their subjection. They laid heavy taxes upon them; delivered them up to the avarice of the collectors of those taxes; gave no ear to their complaints; rendered them no justice; treated them like vile slaves; and committed the most crying outrages against them.

Man, who is born for liberty, does not grow tame by servitude: the most gentle slavery exasperates, and provokes him to rebel. What could be expected then from so cruel a slavery, as was that the Messenians groaned under? Why, after having endured it with great uneasiness * near forty years, they resolved to throw off the yoke, and to recover their antient liberty. This was in the 4th year A. M. of the 23d Olympiad: the office of Archon at A-^{3320.} thens was then made annual; and Anaxander and Ant. J. C. Anaxidamus reigned at Sparta. 684

The Messenians' first care, was to strengthen themselves with the alliance of the neighbouring nations. These they found very well inclined to enter into their views; because their own interests led them thereto. For it was not without jealousy and apprehensions, that they saw so powerful a city rising up in the midst of them, which manifestly seemed to aim at extending her dominion over all the rest. The people therefore of Elis, the Argians and Sicyonians declared for the Messenians. But before their forces were joined, a battle was fought between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians. † Aristomenes, the second of that name, was at the head of the latter.

* Cùm per complures annos gravia servitutis verbera plerumque ac vincula cæteraque captivitatis mala perpessi essent, post longam pænarum patientiam

bellum instaurant. *Justin. lib. 3. cap. 5.*

† According to several historians, there was another Aristomenes in the first Messenian war. *Diod. l. 15. p. 372.*

He was a commander of an intrepid courage, and of great abilities in the business of war. The Lacedæmonians were beat in this engagement. Aristomenes, who had a mind to give the enemy at first an advantageous opinion of his bravery, knowing what influence it has on the success of future enterprises, boldly ventured to enter into Sparta by night, and upon the gate of the temple of Minerva, who was surnamed Chalcioecos, to hang up a shield, on which was an inscription, signifying, that it was a present offered by Aristomenes to the goddess, out of the spoils of the Lacedæmonians.

This bravado did in reality astonish the Lacedæmonians. But they were still more alarmed at the formidable league that was formed against them. The Delphic oracle, which they consulted, in order to know by what means they should be successful in this war, directed them to send to Athens for a commander, and to submit to his counsel and conduct. This was a very mortifying step to so haughty a city as Sparta. But the fear of incurring the god's displeasure by a direct disobedience, prevailed over all other considerations. They sent an embassy therefore to the Athenians. The people of Athens were somewhat perplexed at the request. On the one hand, they were not sorry to see the Lacedæmonians at war with their neighbours, and had no inclination to furnish them with a good general: on the other hand, they were afraid likewise of disobeying the god. To extricate themselves out of this difficulty, they offered the Lacedæmonians a person called Tyræus. He was a poet by profession, and had something original in the turn of his wit, and disagreeable in his person; for he was lame. Notwithstanding these defects, the Lacedæmonians received him as a general, sent unto them by heaven itself. Their success did not at first answer their expectation; for they lost three battles successively.

The kings of Sparta, discouraged by so many disappointments, and out of all hopes of better success for the future, were entirely bent upon returning to Sparta, and marching home again with their forces. Tyrtaeus opposed this design very warmly, and at length brought them over to his opinion. He spoke to the troops, and repeated to them verses he had made on purpose, and on which he had bestowed great pains and application. He first endeavoured to comfort them for their past losses, which he imputed to no fault of theirs, but only to ill fortune, or to fate, which no human wisdom can surmount. He then represented to them, what a shame it would be for Spartans to fly from an enemy; and how glorious it would be for them rather to perish sword in hand, in fighting for their country, if it was so decreed by fate. Then, as if all danger was vanished, and the gods, fully satisfied and appeased with their late calamities, were entirely turned to their side, he laid victory before their eyes as present and certain, and as if she herself were inviting them to the combat.

All the ancient authors, who have made any mention of the stile and character of Tyrtaeus's poetry, observe, that it was full of a certain fire, ardour, and enthusiasm, that animated the minds of men, that exalted them above themselves, that * inspired them with something generous and martial, that extinguished all fear and apprehension of danger or death, and made them wholly intent upon the preservation of their country and their own glory.

This was really the effect Tyrtaeus's verses had on the soldiers upon this occasion. They all desired with one voice, to march against the enemy. Being grown indifferent as to their lives, they were bent only upon securing to themselves the honour of a burial. To which end they all tied strings

Pla. l. 1.
de Legib.
p. 620.
Plut in
Agid. 2.
Cleom.
p. 805.

* Tyrtaeusque mares animos in martia bella
Versibus exacuit. *Hor. in Art. Post.*

round their right arms, on which were inscribed their own and their father's names, that, if they chanced to be killed in the battle, and to have their faces so altered through time, or accidents, as not to be distinguishable, it might certainly be known who each of them was by these respective badges. Soldiers thus determined to die, are very valiant. This appeared in the battle that was fought. It was very bloody, the victory being a long time disputed on both sides : but at last the Messenians gave ground. When Tyrtæus went afterwards to Sparta, he was received with the greatest marks of distinction, and incorporated into the body of citizens.

The gaining of this battle did not put an end to the war, which had already lasted three years. Aristomenes having gathered together the remains of his army, retired to the top of a mountain, of difficult access, which was called Ira. The conquerors attempted to carry the place by assault ; but that brave prince defended himself there for the space of eleven years, and performed the most extraordinary actions of bravery. And when he was at last obliged to quit it, he was driven thereto by surprise and treachery, and fought like a lion. Such of the Messenians as fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians on this occasion, were reduced to the condition of the Elotæ or slaves. The rest seeing their country ruined, went and settled at Zancle, a city in Sicily, which afterwards took its name from this people, and was called Messana ; the same place which now at this day is called Messina. Aristomenes, after having conducted one of his daughters to Rhodes, whom he had given in marriage to the tyrant of that place, thought of passing on to Sardis, and to remain with Ardys king of the Lydians, or to Ecbatana with Phraortes, king of the Medes ; but death prevented the execution of all his designs.

The second Messenian war lasted fourteen years, An. M. 3334.
and ended the first year of the twenty-seventh Olym- Ant. J. C. 670.
piad.

There was a third war between this people and the Lacedæmonians, which began both at the time, and on the occasion of a great earthquake, that happened at Sparta. An account will be given of this war in the sequel of this history.



BOOK THE SIXTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE Persians *and* Grecians.

This book contains the history of the PERSIANS and GRECIANS, from the beginning of the reign of Darius the first, to the 42d year of Artaxerxes Longimanus.

CHAPTER I.

The history of Darius and the Grecians joined together.

DARIUS.
Herod.
l. 6. c. 98.
Val. Max.
l. 9. c. 2.

BEFORE Darius came to be king, he was called Ochus. At his accession he took the name of Darius, which, according to Herodotus, in the Persian language signifies an avenger, or a man that defeats the schemes of another; probably because he had punished and put an end to the insolence of the Magian impostor. He reigned thirty six years.

S E C T.

S E C T. I.

Darius's marriage. The imposition of tributes. The insolence and punishment of Intaphernes. The death of Oretes. The story of Democedes a physician. Leave given the Jews to carry on the building of their temple. The generosity of Syloson rewarded.

WHEN Darius was seated in the throne, the better to secure himself therein, he married two of Cyrus's daughters, Atossa and Artistona. The former had been wife to Cambyfes, her own brother, and afterwards to Smerdis the Magian, during the time he was possessed of the throne. Artistona was still a virgin, when Darius married her; and of all his wives, was the person he most loved. He likewise married Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, who was Cambyfes's brother, as also Phedyma, daughter to Otanes, by whose management the imposture of the Magian was discovered. By these wives he had a great number of children of both sexes.

An. M.
3483.
Ant. J. C.
521.
Her. l. 3.
c. 88.

We have already seen, that the seven conspirators, who put the Magian to death, had agreed among themselves, that he, whose horse, on a day appointed, first neighed, at the rising of the sun, should be declared king; and that Darius's horse, by an artifice of his Groom, procured his master that honour. The king, desiring to transmit to future ages, his gratitude for this signal and extraordinary service, caused an equestrian statue to be set up with this Inscription: *Darius, the son of Hystaspes, acquired the kingdom of Persia by means of his horse (whose name was inserted) and of his groom, Oebares.* There is in this inscription, where, you see, the king is not ashamed to own himself indebted to his horse and his groom for so transcendent a benefaction, as the

Ibid.

DARIUS. regal diadem, when it was his interest, one would think, to have it considered as the fruits of a superior merit : there is, I say, in this inscription a simplicity and sincerity peculiar to the genius of those antient times, and extremely opposite to the pride and vanity of ours.

Her. l. 3. One of the first cares of Darius, when he was
c. 89--97. settled in the throne, was to regulate the state of the provinces, and to put his finances into good order. Before his time, Cyrus and Cambyfes had contented themselves with receiving from the conquered nations such free gifts only, as they voluntarily offered, and with requiring a certain number of troops when they had occasion for them. But Darius conceived, that it was impossible for him to preserve all the nations, under his dominion, in peace and security, without keeping up certain bodies of regular forces ; as also to keep up those forces without assigning them a certain pay ; or to be able punctually to give them that pay, without laying certain taxes and impositions upon the people.

In order therefore to put the administration of his finances into a proper method, he divided the whole empire into twenty districts, or governments, each of which was annually to pay a certain sum to the Satrap, or governour appointed for that purpose. The natural subjects, that is, the Persians were exempt from all imposition. Herodotus gives a particular enumeration of these provinces, which may very much contribute to give a just idea of the extent of the Persian empire.

In Asia it comprehended all that now belongs to the Persians and the Turks ; in Africa, it took in Egypt and part of Nubia, as also the coasts of the Mediterranean, as far as the kingdom of Barca ; in Europe, part of Thrace and Macedonia. But it must be observed, that in this vast extent of Country, there were several nations, which were only tributary, and not properly under the Persian dominion :

on : as is the case at this day with respect to the DARIUS. Turkish empire.

History observes, that Darius, in laying these Plut. in Apophthegm. P. 172. impositions, shewed great wisdom and moderation. He sent for the principal inhabitants of every province ; such as were best acquainted with the condition and ability of their country, and as were obliged in interest to give him a true and impartial account. He then asked them, if such and such sums, which he proposed to each of them for their respective provinces, were not too great, or did not exceed what they were able to pay ; his intention being, as he told them, not to oppress his subjects, but only to require such aids from them, as were proportion'd to their incomes, and absolutely necessary for the defence of the state. They all answered, that the sums he proposed were very reasonable, and such as would not be burdensome to the people. The king however was pleased to abate one half, chusing rather to keep a great deal within bounds, than to risk a possibility of exceeding them.

But notwithstanding this extraordinary moderation on the kings part, as there is something odious in all impositions, the Persians, who gave the surname of father to Cyrus, and of master to Cambyfes, thought fit to characterize Darius with that of * merchant.

The several sums levied by the imposition of these tributes or taxes, as far as we can infer from the calculation of Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted in the whole to about forty four millions *per annum* french money.

After the death of the Magian impostor, it was Her. l. 5. c. 118, 119 agreed, that the Persian noblemen, who had conspired against him, should, besides several other

* *Κάπηλος*, imports something it in our language. It may signify a Broker, or a Retailer, any one that buys to sell again.

DARIUS. marks of distinction, have the liberty of free access to the king's presence at all times, except when he was alone with the queen. Intaphernes, one of these noblemen, being refused admittance into the king's apartment, at a time, when the king and queen were in private together, in a violent rage fell foul upon the officers of the palace, abused them outrageously, cutting their faces with his scimeter. Darius highly resented so heinous an insult; and at first apprehended it might be a conspiracy amongst the noblemen. But when he was well assured of the contrary, he caused Intaphernes, together with his children and all that were of his family to be taken up, and had them all condemned to be put to death, confounding through a blind excess of severity the innocent with the guilty. In these unhappy circumstances the criminal's lady went every day to the gates of the palace, crying and weeping in the most lamentable manner, and never ceasing to implore the king's clemency with all the pathetick eloquence of sorrow and distress. The king could not resist so moving a spectacle, and besides her own, granted her the pardon of any one person of her family, whom she herself should name. This occasioned great perplexity to the unhappy lady, who desired, no doubt, to save them all. At last, after a long deliberation she determined in favour of her brother. This choice, wherein she seemed not to have followed the sentiments, which nature should dictate to a mother and a wife, surprized the king, who desiring her to be asked the reason of it, she made answer, that by a second marriage the loss of an husband and children might be retriev'd; but that, her father and mother being dead, there was no possibility of recovering a brother. Darius, besides the life of her brother, granted her the same favour for the eldest of her children.

Her. l. 3. I have already related in the foregoing volume,
c. 120, 128 by what an instance of perfidiousness Oretes, one of
the

the king's governours in Asia minor, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. So black and detestable a crime did not go unpunished. Darius found out, that Oretes strangely abused his power, making no account of the blood of those persons, who had the misfortune to displease him. This Satrap carried his insolence so far, as to put to death a messenger sent him by the king, because the orders he had brought him were disagreeable. Darius, who did not yet think himself well settled in the Throne, would not venture to attack him openly: for the Satrap had no less than a thousand soldiers for his guard, not to mention the succours he was able to raise from his government, which took in Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. The king therefore thought fit to proceed in a secret manner, to rid himself of so dangerous a servant. With this commission he intrusted one of his officers, of approved fidelity and attachment to his person. The officer, under pretence of other business, went to Sardis: where with great dexterity he sisted into the dispositions of the people. To pave the way to his design, he first gave the principal officers of the governour's guard letters from the king, which contained nothing but general orders. A little while after he delivered them other letters, in which their orders were more express and particular. And as soon as he found himself perfectly sure of the disposition of the troops, he then read them a third letter, wherein the king in plain terms commanded them to kill the governour; and this order was executed without delay. All his effects were confiscated to the king; and all the persons belonging to his family and household were removed to Susa. Among the rest, there was a celebrated physician of Crotona, whose name was Democedes. The story of this physician is very singular, and happened to be the occasion of some considerable events.

DARIUS.
Her. l. 3.
c. 129, 130

Not long after the fore-mentioned transaction, Darius chanced to have a fall from his horse in hunting, by which he got a violent sprain in one of his feet, and disjoined his heel. The Egyptians were then reckoned the most skilful in physick; for which reason the king had several physicians of that nation about him. These undertook to cure the king, * and exerted all their skill on so important an occasion: but they were so unhandy in the operation and in the handling and managing the king's foot, that they put him to incredible pain; so that he passed seven days and seven nights without sleeping. Democedes was mentioned on this occasion by some person, who had heard him extolled at Sardis, as a very able physician. He was sent for immediately and brought to the king in the condition he was in, with his irons on, and in a very poor apparel: for he was at that time actually a prisoner. The king asked him, whether he had any knowledge in physick. At first he denied he had, fearing, that if he should give any proofs of his skill, he should be detained in Persia, and by that means be for ever debarred from returning to his own country, for which he had a very passionate fondness. Darius, displeased with his answer, ordered him to be put to the torture. Democedes found it was necessary to own the truth; and therefore offered his service to the king. The first thing he did was to apply gentle fomentations to the parts affected. This remedy had a speedy effect: The king recovered his sleep; and in a few days was perfectly cured, both of the sprain and the dislocation. To recompense the physician the king made him a present of two pair of golden chains. Upon which Democedes asked him, whether he meant to reward the happy success of his endeavours, by doubling his misfortune. The king was pleased with that saying; and orde-

* Antiently the same persons practised both as physicians and surgeons.

red his ennuchs to conduct Democedes to his wives, DARIUS. that they might see the person, to whom he was indebted for his recovery. They all made him very magnificent presents; so that in one day's time he became extremely rich.

Democedes was a native of Crotona, a city of Her. l 3. great Greece, in Italy in the further Calabria, from c. 131. whence he had been obliged to fly, on account of the ill treatment he received from his father. He An Island between Attica and Peloponnesus. first went to Egina, where by several successful cures, he acquired great reputation: the inhabitants of this place settled on him a yearly pension of a talent. The talent contained sixty Mina's, and was worth about three thousand livres, French money. Some time after, he was invited to Athens; where they augmented his pension to five thousand livres per annum. After this, he was received into the family of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who gave him a pension of two thousand crowns. An hundred Mina's. It is very much for the honour of cities, or princes, by handsome pensions and salaries to engage such persons in their service, as Two talents. are of publick benefit to mankind; and even to induce foreigners of worth and merit to come and settle among them. The Crotonians from this time had the reputation of having the ablest physicians; and next after them, the people of Cyrene in Africa. The Argians were at the same time reputed to excell in musick.

† Democedes, after performing this cure upon the Her. king, was admitted to the honour of eating at his c. 132. table, and came to be in great credit at Susa. At his intercession, the Egyptian physicians were pardoned, who had all been condemned to be hanged for having been less skilful than the Grecian physician; as if they were obliged to answer for the success of their remedies, or that it was a crime not to be able to cure a king. A strange abuse this, and at the same time but too common a consequence of unlimited power, which is rarely governed by reason or equity, and which, being

DARIUS. being accustomed to see every thing bend under its authority, expects, that its commands, of what nature soever, should be infallibly performed. We have seen another instance of this kind in the history of Nebuchadnezzar, who pronounced a general sentence of death upon all his magicians, because they could not divine what it was he had dreamed in the night, when he himself had forgot it. Democedes procured also the enlargement of several of those persons, who had been imprisoned with him. He lived in the greatest affluence, and was in the highest esteem and favour with the king. But he was at a great distance from his own country, upon which his thoughts and desires were continually bent.

Cap. 133,
137.

Democedes had the good fortune to perform another cure, which contributed to raise his credit and reputation still higher. Atossa, one of the king's wives, and daughter to Cyrus, was attacked with a cancer in her breast. As long as the pain of it was tolerable, she bore it with patience, not being able to prevail on her self, out of modesty, to discover her disorder. But at last she was constrained to it, and sent for Democedes; who promised to cure her, and at the same time requested, that she would be pleased to grant him a certain favour he should beg of her, entirely consistent with her honour. The queen engaged her word, and was cured. The favour promised the physician was to procure him a journey into his own country: and the queen was not unmindful of her promise. * It is worth while to take notice of such events, which though not very considerable in themselves, yet often give occasion to the greatest enterprizes of princes, and are even the secret springs and distant causes of them. As Atossa was conversing one day with Darius, she took occasion to represent to him, that, being in the flower of

* Non sine usu fuerit intro- ex quibus magnarum sæpe rerum
specere in primo aspectu levia, motus oriuntur. Tac. l. 4. c. 32.

his age, and of a vigorous constitution, capable of DARIUS. enduring the fatigues of war, and having great and numerous armies at command, it would be for his honour to form some great enterprize, and let the Persians see, they had a man of courage for their king. You have dived into my design, replied Darius; for I was thinking of going to attack the Scythians. I had much rather, says Atossa, you would first turn your views towards the Grecians. I have heard great things said in praise of the women of Lacedæmon, of Argos, Athens, and Corinth; and should be very glad to have some of them in my service. Besides, you have a person here, that might be very useful to you in such an enterprize, and could give you a perfect knowledge of the country: the person I mean is Democedes, who hath cured both you and me. This was enough for the king, and the affair was concluded on immediately. Fifteen Persian noblemen were appointed to accompany Democedes into Greece, and with him to view and examine all the maritime places thereof, as thoroughly as possible. The king further charged these persons, above all things to keep a strict eye upon the physician, that he did not slip from them, and to bring him back with them to the Persian court.

Darius in giving such an order, plainly shewed, he did not ~~not~~ understand the proper methods for engaging men of wit and merit to reside in his dominions, and for attaching them to his person. To pretend to do this by authority and compulsion, is the sure way of suppressing all knowledge and industry, and of driving away the liberal arts and sciences, which must be free and unconfined, as the intellectual faculty, from whence they spring. For one man of genius, that will be kept in a country by force, thousands will be driven away, who would probably have chosen to reside in it, if they could enjoy their liberty, and meet with kind treatment.

When

DARIUS.

When Darius had formed his design of sending into Greece, he acquainted Democedes with it, laid open his views to him, and told him the occasion he had for his service to conduct the Persian noblemen thither, particularly to the maritime towns, in order to observe their situation and strength; at the same time earnestly desiring him, that, when that was done, he would return back with them to Persia. The king permitted him to carry all his moveables with him, and give them, if he pleased, to his father and brothers, promising at his return to give him as many of greater value; and signified to him further, that he would order the galley, in which he was to sail, to be laden with very rich presents, for him to bestow as he thought fit on the rest of his family. The king's intention appeared by his manner of speaking to be undisguised and without artifice: but Democedes was afraid it might be a snare, laid for him, in order to discover whether he purposed to return back to Persia, or not: and therefore to remove all suspicion, he left his own goods behind him at Susa, and only took with him the presents designed for his family.

The first place they landed at was Sidon in Phœnicia, where they equipped two large vessels, for themselves, and put all they had brought along with them on board another vessel of burden. After having passed through and carefully examined the chief cities of Greece, they went to Tarentum in Italy. Here the Persian noblemen were taken up as spies; and Democedes taking advantage of this commotion, made his escape from them, and fled to Crotona. When the Persian lords had recovered their liberty, they pursued him thither, but could not prevail upon the Crotonians to deliver up their fellow-citizen. The city moreover seized the loaded vessel: and the Persians having lost their guide, laid aside the thoughts of going over the other parts of Greece, and set out for their own country. Democedes let
them

them know, at their departure, that he was going DARIUS to marry the daughter of Milo, a famous wrestler of Crotona, whose name was very well known to the king, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. This voyage of the Persian noblemen into Greece, was attended with no immediate consequence; because on their return home they found the king engaged in other affairs.

In the third year of this king's reign, which was Estr. c. 5. but the second according to the Jewish computation, new troubles and disturbances were raised against the Jews by the instigation of the Samaritans. In the preceding reigns the latter had procured a prohibition against the Jews proceeding any further in the building of the temple of Jerusalem. But, upon the lively exhortation of the prophets, and the express order of God, the Israelites had lately resumed the work, which had been interrupted for several years, and carried it on with great vigour. The Samaritans had recourse to their ancient practices, to stop their proceeding. To this end they applied to Thatanai, whom Darius had made governour of the provinces of Syria and Palestine. They complained to him of the audacious proceeding of the Jews, who, of their own authority, and in defiance of the prohibitions to the contrary, presumed to rebuild their temple: which must necessarily be prejudicial to the king's interests. Upon this representation of theirs, the governour thought fit to go himself to Jerusalem. And being a person of great equity and moderation, when he had inspected the work, he did not think proper to proceed violently, and to put a stop to it without any further deliberation; but enquired of the Jewish elders, what licence they had for entering upon a work of that nature. The Jews hereupon producing the edict of Cyrus made in that behalf, he would not of himself ordain any thing in contradiction thereto, but sent an account of the matter to the king, and desired to know

DARIUS. know his pleasure. He gave the king a true representation of the matter, acquainting him with the edict of Cyrus which the Jews alledged in their justification, and desiring him to order the registers to be consulted, to know, whether Cyrus had really published such an edict in their favour, and thereupon to send him instructions of what he thought fit to order in the affair. **Esd. c. 6.** Darius having commanded the registers to be examined, the edict was found at Ecbatana, in Media, the place, where Cyrus was, at the time of its being granted. Now Darius having a great respect for the memory of that prince, confirmed his edict, and caused another to be drawn up, wherein the former was referred to, and ratified. This motive of regard to the memory of Cyrus, had there been nothing else to influence the king, would be very laudable: but the scripture informs us, that it was God himself, who influenced the mind and heart of the king, and inspired him with a favourable disposition to the Jews. The truth of this appears pretty plain from the edict itself. In the first place it ordains, that all the victims, oblations, and other expences of the temple; be abundantly furnished the Jews, as the priests should require: in the second place it enjoins the priests of Jerusalem, when they offered their sacrifices to the God of heaven, to pray for the preservation of the life of the king and the princes his children: and lastly it goes so far, as to denounce imprecations against all princes and people, that should hinder the carrying on of the building of the temple, or that should attempt to destroy it: by all which Darius evidently acknowledges, that the God of Israel is able to overturn the kingdoms of the world, and to dethrone the most mighty and powerful princes.

By virtue of this edict, the Jews were not only authorized to proceed in the building of their temple, but all the expences thereof were also to be furnished to them, out of the taxes and impositions of the province.

vinée. What must have become of the Jews, when DARIUS. the crimes of disobedience and rebellion were laid to their charge, if at such a juncture their superiors had only hearkened to their enemies, and not given them leave to justify themselves!

The same prince, some time after, gave still a more signal proof of his love for justice, and of his abhorrence for accusers and informers, a detestable race of men, that are, by their very nature and condition, enemies to all merit and all virtue. It is pretty obvious, that I mean the famous edict, published by this prince against Haman, in favour of the Jews at the request of Esther, whom the king had taken to his bed in the room of Vasthi, one of his wives. According to archbishop Usher, this Vasthi is the same person, as is called by prophane writers Atossa; and the Ahafuerus of the holy scriptures the same, as Darius: but, according to others, it is Artaxerxes. The fact is well known, being recorded in the sacred history: nevertheless I have given a brief account of it in a former volume. Tom. II: P. 367.

Such actions of justice do great honour to a prince's memory: as do also those of gratitude, of which Darius on a certain occasion gave a very laudable instance. Syloson, brother to Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, had once made Darius a present of a fruit of cloaths, of a curious red colour, which extremely pleased Darius's fancy, and would never suffer him to make any return for it. Darius at that time was but a private gentleman, an officer in the guards of Cambyfes, whom he accompanied to Memphis in his Egyptian expedition. When Darius was on the throne of Persia, Syloson went to Susa, presented himself at the gate of his palace, and sent up word to the king that there was a Grecian below, to whom his Majesty was under some obligation. Darius, surprized at such a message, and curious to know the truth of it, ordered him to be brought in. When he saw him, he remembered Her. 1. 3. c. 139, 149.

DARIUS. membred him, and acknowledged him to have been his benefactor ; and was so far from being ashamed of an adventure , which might seem not to be much for his honour, that he ingenuously applauded the gentleman's generosity, which proceeded from no other motive than that of doing a pleasure to a person, from whom he could have no expectations ; and then proposed to make him a considerable present of gold and silver. But money was not the thing Sysofon desired : the love of his country was his predominant passion. The favour he required of the king was, that he would settle him at Samos, without shedding the blood of the citizens, by driving out the person, that had usurped the government since the death of his brother. Darius consented, and committed the conduct of the expedition to Otanes, one of the principal lords of his court, who undertook it with joy, and performed it with success.

S E C T. II.

Revolt and reduction of Babylon.

An. M. 3488.
Ant. J. C. 516.
Her. l. 3. c. 150—160.

IN the beginning of the fifth year of Darius, Babylon revolted, and could not be reduced till after a twenty months siege. This city, formerly mistress of the east, grew impatient of the Persian yolk, especially after the removing of the imperial seat to Susa, which very much diminished Babylon's wealth and grandure. The Babylonians, taking advantage of the revolution that happened in Persia, first on the death of Cambyfes, and afterwards on the massacre of the Magians, made secretly for four years together all kinds of preparations for war. When they thought the city sufficiently stored with provisions for many years, they set up the standard of rebellion ; which obliged Darius to besiege them with all his forces. Now God continued

continued to accomplish those terrible threatnings DARIUS. he had denounced against Babylon: that he would, not only humble and bring down that proud and impious city, but depopulate and lay it waste with fire and blood, utterly exterminate it, and reduce it to an eternal solitude. In order to fulfil these predictions, God permitted the Babylonians to rebel against Darius, and by that means to draw upon themselves the whole force of the Persian empire: and they themselves were the first in putting these prophecies in execution, by destroying a great number of their own people, as will be seen presently. It is probable, that the Jews, of whom a considerable number remained at Babylon, went out of the city, before the siege was formed, as the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah had exhorted them long before, and Zachariah very lately, in the following terms: *Thou Sion, that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon, flee from the country, and save thy self.* If. xlviii. 20. Jer. 1. 8. and li. 6, 9, 45.

^ The Babylonians, to make their provisions last the longer, and to enable them to hold out with the greater vigour, took the most desperate and barbarous resolution that ever was heard of; which was, to destroy all such of their own people, as were unserviceable on this occasion. For this purpose they assembled together all their wives and children, and strangled them. Only every man was allowed to keep his best beloved wife, and one servant-maid to do the business of the family. Zach. ii. 6, 9.

After this cruel execution, the unhappy remainder of the inhabitants, thinking themselves out of all danger, both on account of their fortifications, which they looked upon as impregnable, and the vast quantity of provisions they had laid in store, began to insult the besiegers from the tops of their walls, and to provoke them with opprobrious language. The Persians, for the space of eighteen months, did all that force or stratagem were capable of, in order to make themselves masters of the city;

DARIUS. nor did they forget to make use of the same means, as had so happily succeeded with Cyrus some years before ; I mean, that of turning the course of the river. But all their efforts were fruitless ; and Darius began almost to despair of taking the place, when a stratagem, till then unheard of, opened the gates of the city to him. He was strangely surprized one morning to see Zopyrus, one of the chief noblemen of his court, and son of Megabyfes, who was one of the seven lords, that made the association against the Magians ; to see him, I say, appear before him all over blood, with his nose and ears cut off, and his whole body wounded in a terrible manner. Starting up from his throne he cried out : Who is it, Zopyrus, that has dared to treat you thus ? You your self, O king, replied Zopyrus. The desire I had of rendering you service has put me into this condition. As I was fully persuaded, that you never would have consented to this method, I have consulted none but the zeal I have for your service. He then opened to him his design of going over to the enemy ; and they settled every thing together, that was proper to be done. The king could not see him set out upon this extraordinary project without the utmost affliction and concern. Zopyrus approached the walls of the city ; and having told them who he was, he was soon admitted. They then carried him before the governor, to whom he laid open his misfortune, and the cruel treatment he had met with from Darius, for having dissuaded him from continuing any longer before a city, which it was impossible for him to take. He offered the Babylonians his service, which could not fail of being highly useful to them, since he was acquainted with all the designs of the Persians, and since the desire of revenge would inspire him with fresh courage and resolution. His name and person were both well known at Babylon : the condition in which he appeared, his blood and his

his wounds testified for him ; and, by proofs not to DARIUS. be suspected, confirmed the truth of all he advanced. They therefore entirely believed whatever he told them, and gave him moreover the command of as many troops as he desired. In the first sally he made, he cut off a thousand of the besiegers : a few days after he killed them double the number ; and on the third time, four thousand of their men lay dead upon the spot. All this had been before agreed upon between him and Darius. Nothing was now talked of in Babylon but Zopyrus : the whole city strove who should extol him most, and they had not words sufficient to express their high value for him, and how happy they esteemed themselves in having gained so great a man. He was now declared generalissimo of their forces, and entrusted with the care of guarding the walls of the city. Darius approaching with his army towards the gates, and at the time agreed on between them, Zopyrus opened the gates to him, and made him by that means master of the city, which he never could have been able to take either by force or famine.

As powerful as this prince was, he found himself incapable of making a sufficient recompence for so great a service ; and he used often to say, that he would with pleasure sacrifice a hundred Babylons, if he had them, to restore Zopyrus to the condition he was in, before he inflicted that cruel treatment upon himself. He settled upon him during life the whole revenue of this opulent city, which he alone had procured him the possession of, and heaped all the honours upon him, that a king could possibly confer upon a subject. Megabyfes, who commanded the Persian army in Egypt against the Athenians, was son to this Zopyrus ; and that Zopyrus, who went over to the Athenians in the quality of a deserter, was his grandson.

DARIUS.

No sooner was Darius in possession of Babylon, but he ordered the hundred gates to be pulled down, and all the walls of that proud city to be entirely demolished, that she might never be in a condition any more to rebel against him. If he had pleased to make use of all the rights of a conqueror, he might upon this occasion have exterminated all the inhabitants. But he contented himself with causing three thousand of those, who were principally concerned in the revolt, to be impaled, and granted a pardon to all the rest. And, in order to hinder the depopulation of the city, he caused fifty thousand women to be brought from the several provinces of his empire, to supply the place of those, which the inhabitants had so cruelly destroyed at the beginning of the siege. Such was the fate of Babylon; and thus did God execute his vengeance on that impious city, for the cruelty she had exercised towards the Jews, in falling upon a free people without any reason or provocation; in destroying their government, laws and worship; in forcing them from their country, and transporting them to a strange land; where they laid a most grievous yolk of servitude upon them, and made use of all their power to crush and afflict an unhappy nation, favoured however by God, and having the honour to be stiled his peculiar people.

S E C T. III.

*Darius prepares for an expedition against the Scythians.
A digression upon the manners and customs of that nation.*

Her. l. 4.
c. 1.
Justin.
l. 2. c. 5.

AFTER the reduction of Babylon, Darius made great preparations for the war against the Scythians, who inhabited that large tract of land, which lyes between the Danube and the Tanais. His pretence for undertaking this war was to be revenged of

of that nation for the * invasion, which their Ancestors had formerly made of Asia: a very frivolous and sorry pretext; and a very ridiculous thing to revive an old quarrel, which had been over an hundred and twenty years before. Whilst the Scythians were employed in that irruption, which lasted eight and twenty years, the Scythians wives married their slaves. When the husbands were on their return home, these slaves went out to meet them with a numerous army, and disputed their entrance into their country. After some battles fought with pretty equal loss on both sides, the masters considering, that it was doing too much honour to their slaves to put them upon the foot of soldiers, marched against them in the next encounter with whips in their hands, to make them remember their proper condition. This stratagem had the intended effect: for not being able to bear the sight of their masters thus armed, they all ran away.

I design in this place to imitate Herodotus, who in writing of this war takes occasion to give an ample account of all that relates to the customs and manners of the Scythians. But I shall be much more brief in my account of this matter than he is.

A digression concerning the Scythians.

Formerly there were Scythians both in Europe and Asia, most of them inhabiting those parts, that lye towards the north. I design now chiefly to treat of the first, namely of the European Scythians.

The historians, in the accounts they have left us of the manners and character of the Scythians, relate things of them, that are entirely opposite and contradictory to one another. One while they represent them as the justest and most moderate people in the world: another while they describe them, as a fierce and barbarous nation, which carries its cruelty to

* Mention is made of this in the first volume, p. 103, &c.

DARIUS. such horrible excesses, as are shocking to humane nature. This contrariety is a manifest proof, that those different characters are to be applied to different nations of Scythians, all comprized in that vast and extensive tract of country; and that, though they were all comprehended under one and the same general denomination of Scythians, we ought not to confound them or their characters together.

Strab. l. 7.
p. 298.

Strabo has quoted authors, who mention Scythians, dwelling upon the coast of the Euxine sea, that cut the throats of all strangers, who came amongst them, fed upon their flesh, and made pots and drinking-vessels of their skulls, when they had dried them. Herodotus in describing the sacrifices, which the Scythians offered to the God Mars, says, * they used to offer human sacrifices. Their manner of making treaties, according to this author's account, was very strange and particular. They first poured wine into a large earthen vessel, and then the contracting parties, cutting their arms with a knife, let some of their blood run into the wine, and stained likewise their armour therein; after which they themselves, and all that were present, drank of that liquor, making the strongest imprecations against the person that should violate the treaty.

Herod.

c. 71, 72.

But what the same historian relates, concerning the ceremonies observed at the funeral of their kings, is still more extraordinary. I shall only mention such of those ceremonies, as may serve to give us an idea of the cruel barbarity of this people. When their king died, they embalmed his body, and wrapped it up in wax; this done, they put it into an open chariot, and carried it from city to city, exposing it to the view of all the people under his dominion. When this circuit was finished, they

* This custom was still practised by the Hiberians, who were originally Scythians, in the time of Tacitus, who makes mention of it. Ann. l. 12. c. 47. Ibid. c. 70.

laid the body down in the place, appointed for the DARIUS burial of it, and there they made a large grave, in which they interred the king, and with him one of his wives, his chief cup-bearer, his great chamberlain, his master of horse, his chancellor, his secretary of state, all which persons were put to death for that purpose.† To these they added several horses, a great number of drinking-vessels, and a certain part of every kind of house-hold-goods and furniture belonging to their deceased monarch: after which they filled up the grave and covered it with earth. This was not all. When the anniversary of his interment came, they cut the throats of fifty more of the dead king's officers, and of the same number of horses, and placed the officers on horse-back round the king's tomb, having first prepared and embalmed their bodies for the purpose; this they did probably to serve him as guards. These ceremonies possibly took their rise from a notion they might have of their king's being still alive: and upon this supposition they judged it necessary, that he should have his court and ordinary officers still about him. Whether employments, which terminated in this manner, were much sought after, I will not determine.

It is now time to pass to the consideration of their other manners and customs, that had more of humanity in them; though possibly in another sense they may appear to be equally wild and savage. The account I am going to give of them is chiefly taken from Justin. According to this author, the Justin. Scythians lived in great innocence and simplicity. l. 2. cap. 2. They were ignorant indeed of all arts and sciences, but then they were equally unacquainted with vice. They did not make any division of their lands amongst themselves, says Justin: it would have been in vain for them to have done it; since they did not apply themselves to cultivate them. Horace in one of his odes, of which I shall insert a part by and by, tells us, that some of them did cultivate a certain por-

DARIUS.

tion of land allotted to them for one year only, at the expiration of which they were relieved by others, who succeeded them on the same conditions. They had no houses, nor settled habitation; but wandered continually with their cattle and their flocks from country to country. Their wives and children they carried along with them in waggons, covered with the skins of beasts, which were all the houses they had to dwell in. * Justice was observed and maintained amongst them through the natural temper and disposition of the people, without any compulsion of Laws, with which they were wholly unacquainted. No crime was more severely punished among them, than theft and robbery; and that with good reason. For, their herds and their flocks, in which all their riches consisted, being never shut up, how could they possibly subsist, if theft had not been most rigorously punished? They coveted neither silver nor gold, like the rest of mankind; and made milk and honey their principal diet. They were strangers to the use of linnen or woollen manufactures; and to defend themselves from the violent and continual cold weather of their climate, they made use of nothing but the skins of beasts.

I said before, that these manners of the Scythians would appear to some people, very wild and savage. And indeed, what can be said for a nation, that has lands, and yet does not cultivate them; that has herds of cattle, of which they content themselves to eat the milk, and neglect the flesh? The wool of their sheep might furnish them with warm and comfortable cloaths; and yet they use no other raiment than the skins of animals. But, that which is the greatest demonstration of their ignorance and savageness, according to the general opinion of mankind, is their utter neglect of gold and silver,

* *Justitia gentis ingenio culta, non legibus.*

which

which have always been had in such great request **DARIUS**. in all civilized nations.

But, oh! how happy was this ignorance; how vastly preferable this savage wildness to our pretended politeness! * This contempt of all the conveniences of life, says Justin, was attended with such an honesty and uprightness of manners, as hindered them from ever coveting their neighbour's goods. For the desire of riches can only take place, where riches can be made use of. And, would to God, says the same author, we could see the same moderation prevail among the rest of mankind, and the like indifference to the goods of other people! If that were the case, the world would not have seen so many wars perpetually succeeding one another in all ages, and in all countries: nor would the number of those, that are cut off by the sword, exceed that of those who fall by the irreversible decree and law of nature.

Justin finishes his character of the Scythians with a very judicious reflection. † It is a surprising thing, says he, that an happy, natural disposition, without the assistance of education, should carry the Scythians to such a degree of wisdom and moderation, as the Grecians could not attain to, with the institutions of their legislators, and the rules and precepts of all their philosophers; and that the manners of a barbarous nation should be preferable to the

* *Hæc continentia illis morum quoque justitiam indidit, nihil alienum concupiscentibus. Quippe ibidem divitiarum cupido est, ubi et usus. Atque utinam reliquis mortalibus similis moderatio et abstinentia alieni foret! profectò non tantum bellorum per omnia secula terris omnibus continuaretur: neque plus hominum ferrum et arma, quam*

naturalis factorum conditio raperet.

† *Prorsus ut admirabile videretur, hoc illis naturam dare, quod Græci longa sapientium doctrina præceptisque philosophorum consequi nequeunt, cultosque mores incultæ barbariæ collatione superari. Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignorantia, quam in his cognitio virtutis!*

DARIUS. manners of a people, so civilized and polished with arts and sciences. So much more effectual and advantageous was the ignorance of vice in the one, than the knowledge of virtue in the other!

Plut. de
garrul.
p. 511.

The Scythian fathers thought with good reason, that they left their children a valuable inheritance, when they left them in peace and union with one another. One of their kings, whose name was Scylurus, finding himself draw near his end, sent for all his children, and giving to each of them one after another a bundle of arrows tied fast together, desired them to break them. Each used his endeavours, but was not able to do it. Then untying the bundle, and giving them the arrows one by one, they were very easily broken. Let this image, says the father, be a lesson to you of the mighty advantage, that results from union and concord. In order to strengthen and enlarge these domestick advantages, The Scythians used to admit their friends into the same terms of union with them as their relations. Friendship was considered by them as a sacred and inviolable alliance, which differed but little from the alliance, nature has put between brethren, and which they could not infringe without being guilty of a heinous crime.

Lucian. in
Tox. p.
51.

Antient authors seem to have strove, who should most extoll the innocence of manners, that prevailed among the Scythians, by making magnificent encomiums upon them. That which Horace makes, I shall transcribe at large. That poet does not confine it entirely to them, the Scythians, but joins the Gætæ with them, who were then very near neighbours. It is in that beautiful ode, where he inveighs against the luxury and irregularities of the age he lived in. After he has told us, that peace and tranquillity of mind is not to be procured either by immense riches, or sumptuous buildings, he adds: " An hundred
" times happier are the Scythians, who roam about
" in their itinerant houses upon waggons; and hap-
" pier

“ pier even are the frozen Getæ. With them the DARIUS.
 “ earth, without being parcelled out into private
 “ grounds, produceth her fruits which are gathered
 “ in common. There each man’s tillage is but of one
 “ year’s continuance; and when a man has finished
 “ his year, he is relieved by a successor, who takes
 “ his place, and manures the ground on the same
 “ conditions. There the step-mothers do not at-
 “ tempt the lives of their husbands children by a
 “ former wife. The wives do not pretend to domi-
 “ neer over their husbands on account of their for-
 “ tunes, nor are they to be corrupted by the insinu-
 “ ating language of adulterous seducers. The
 “ greatest portion a young woman has there, is her
 “ father and mother’s virtue, her inviolable attach-
 “ ment to her husband, and her perfect disregard to
 “ all other men. They dare not be unfaithful, be-
 “ cause the punishment of unfaithfulness there is no
 “ less than death”. *

When we consider the manners and character of the Scythians without prejudice, can we possibly forbear to look upon them with esteem and admiration? Does not their manner of living, as to the exterior part of it at least, bear a great resemblance to that of

- * Campestres melius Scythæ,
 Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
 Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ;
 Immetata quibus jugera liberas
 Fruges et Cererem ferunt!
 Nec cultura placet longior annuâ,
 Defunctumque laboribus
 . Æquali recreat forte vicarius.
 Illic matre carentibus
 Privignis mulier temperat innocens:
 Nec dotata regit virum
 Conjux, nec nitido fudit adultero.
 Dos est magna parentum
 Virtus, & metuens alterius viri
 . Certo fœdere castitas:
 Et peccare nefas, aut pretium est mori.

Hor. l. iii. Od. 24.

DARIUS. the patriarchs, who had no fixed habitation ; who did not till the ground ; who had no other occupation than that of feeding their flocks and herds ; and who dwelt in tents ? Can we believe this people were much to be pitied, for not understanding, or rather for despising the use of gold and silver ? * Is it not to be wished, that those metals had for ever lain buried in the bowels of the earth, and that they had never been dug from thence to become the causes and instruments of all vices and iniquity ? What advantage could gold or silver be of to the Scythians, who valued nothing but what the necessities of man have really occasion for, and who took care to set narrow bounds to those necessities ? It is no wonder, that, living as they did, without houses, they should make no account of those arts, that were so highly valued in other places, as architecture, sculpture, and painting : or that they should despise fine cloaths and costly furniture, since they found the skins of beasts sufficient to defend them against the inclemency of the seasons. After all, can we truly say, that these pretended advantages contribute to the real happiness of life ? Were those nations that had them in the greatest plenty, more healthful or robust than the Scythians ? Did they live to a greater age, than they ? Or did they spend their lives in greater freedom and tranquillity, or a greater exemption from cares and troubles ? Let us acknowledge it, to the shame of antient philosophy ; the Scythians, who did not particularly apply themselves to the study of wisdom, yet carried it to a greater pitch in their practice, than either the Egyptians, Grecians, or any other civilized nation. They did not give the

* Aurum irreperitum, & sic melius situm
Cum terra celat, spernere fortior,
Quam cogere humanos in usus
Omne sacrum rapiente dextrâ.

Hor. l. iii. Od. 3.

name of goods or riches to any thing, but what, in DARIUS. a humane way of speaking, truly deserved that appellation, as health, strength, courage, the love of labour and liberty, innocence of life, sincerity, an abhorrence of all lying and dissimulation, and, in a word, all such qualities, as render a man more virtuous and more valuable. If to these happy inclinations, we add the knowledge and love of God and of our Redeemer, they would have been a perfect people.

When we compare the manners of the Scythians with those of the present age, we are tempted to believe, that the pencils which drew so beautiful a picture, were not free from partiality and flattery; and that both Justin and Horace have decked them with virtues, that did not belong to them. But all antiquity agrees in giving the same testimony of them; and Homer in particular, whose opinion ought to be of great weight, calls them the most just and upright of men.

But at length (who could believe it) luxury, that might be thought only to thrive in an agreeable and delightful soil, penetrated into this rough and uncultivated region; and breaking down the fences, which the constant practice of several ages, founded in the nature of the climate, and the genius of the people, had set against it, did at last effectually corrupt the manners of the Scythians, and bring them, in that respect, upon a level with the other nations, where it had been long predominant. It is Strabo Strab. I. 7. that acquaints us with this particular, which is very p. 301. worthy of our notice; he lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius. After he has greatly commended the simplicity, frugality, and innocence of the ancient Scythians, and their extreme aversion to all dissimulation and deceit, he owns, that their intercourse in later times with other nations had extirpated those virtues, and planted the contrary vices in their stead. One would think, says he, that the natural effect of such an intercourse with civilized and polite nations should

DARIUS. should have consisted only in rendering them more humanized and courteous, by softening that air of savageness and ferocity, which they had before: but, instead of that, it introduced a total dissolution of manners amongst them, and quite transformed them into different creatures. It is undoubtedly with reference to this change that Athenæus says, the Scythians devoted themselves to voluptuousness and luxury, at the same time that they suffered self-interestedness and avarice to prevail amongst them.

Athen.
l. 12.
P. 524.

Strabo, in making the remark I have been mentioning, does not deny, but that it was to the Romans and Grecians this fatal change of manners was owing. Our example, says he, has perverted almost all the nations of the world: by carrying the refinements of luxury and pleasure amongst them, we have taught them insincerity and fraud, and a thousand kinds of shameful and infamous tricks to get money. It is a miserable talent and a very unhappy distinction for a nation, through its ingenuity, in inventing modes, and refining upon every thing, that tends to nourish and promote luxury, to become the corrupter of all its neighbours, and the author, as it were, of their vices and debauchery.

It was against these Scythians, but at a time, when they were yet uncorrupted, and in their utmost vigour, that Darius undertook an unsuccessful expedition; which I shall make the subject of the next article.

S E C T. IV.

Darius's expedition against the Scythians.

Her. l. 4. **I** HAVE already observed, that the pretence, used by Darius, for undertaking this war against the Scythians, was the irruption, formerly made by this people into Asia: but in reality he had no other

ther end therein, than to satisfy his own ambition, DARIUS. and to enlarge his conquests.

His brother Artabanus, for whom he had a great regard, and who on the other hand had no less zeal for the true interests of the king his brother, thought it his duty on this occasion to speak his sentiments, with all that freedom, that an affair of such importance required. “ Great prince, says he to him, “ * they, who form any great enterprize, ought “ carefully to consider, whether it will be beneficial “ or prejudicial to the state; whether the execution “ of it will be easy, or difficult; whether it be “ likely to enhance, or diminish their glory; and “ lastly, whether the thing designed be consistent “ with or contrary to the rules of justice. For my “ own part, I cannot perceive, sir, even though “ you were sure of success, what advantage you can “ propose to your self in undertaking a war against “ the Scythians. Consider the vast distance there is “ between them and you; and the prodigious space “ of land and sea, that separates them from your “ dominions: besides, they are a people, that “ dwell in wild and uncultivated desarts; that have “ neither towns nor houses; that have no fixt settle- “ ments, or places of habitation; and that are des- “ titute of all manner of riches. What spoil or be- “ nefit can accrue to your troops from such an ex- “ pedition; or, to speak more properly, what loss “ have you not reason to apprehend?

“ As they are accustomed to remove from coun- “ try to country, if they should think proper to fly “ before you, not out of cowardise or fear, for “ they are a very courageous and warlike people, “ but only with a design to harass and ruin your “ army by continual and fatiguing marches, what

* Omnes qui magnarum re- publicæ utile, ipsis gloriosum, aut
rum consilia suscipiunt, estimare promptum effectu, aut certè non
debent, an, quod inchoatur, rei- arduum sit. *Tacit. Hist. l. 2. c. 76.*

DARIUS. “ would become of us in such an uncultivated, barren, and naked country, where we shall neither find forage for our horses, nor provision for our men? I am afraid, sir, that through a false notion of glory, and the influence of flatterers, you may be hurried into a war, which may turn to the dishonour of the nation. You now enjoy the sweets of peace and tranquillity in the midst of your people, where you are the object of their admiration, and the author of their happiness. You are sensible the Gods have placed you upon the throne only to be their co-adjutor, or, to speak more properly, to be the dispenser of their bounty, rather than the minister of their power. It is your pleasure to be the protector, the guardian, and the father of your subjects: and you often declare to us, because you really believe so, that you look upon yourself, as invested with sovereign power, only in order to make the people happy. What exquisite joy must it be to so great a prince as you are, to be the fountain of so many blessings; and under the shadow of your name to preserve such infinite numbers of people in so desirable a tranquillity! Is not the glory of a king, who loves his subjects, and is beloved by them; who, instead of making war against neighbouring, or distant nations, makes use of his power to keep them in peace and amity together; is not such a glory, vastly preferable to, that of ravaging and spoiling of nations, of filling the earth with slaughter and desolation, with horror, consternation and despair? But there is one motive more, which ought to have a greater influence upon you, than any other, I mean that of justice. Thanks to the Gods, you are not of the number of those princes, * who acknowledge no

* *Id in summa fortuna æquius, tunc, regiam laudem efficit. Tacit quod validius: & sua retinere, Annal. l. 25 c. 1. privatæ domus; de alienis cer-*

“ other law, than that of force, and who imagine, DARIUS.
 “ that they have a peculiar privilege, annexed to
 “ their dignity, which private persons have not, of
 “ invading other men’s properties. * You do not
 “ make your greatness consist in being able to do
 “ whatever you will, but in willing only what may
 “ be done, without infringing the laws, or viola-
 “ ting your conscience. To speak plain, shall one
 “ man be reckoned unjust, and a robber, for
 “ seizing on a few acres of his neighbour’s estate ;
 “ and shall another be reckoned just and great, and
 “ have the title of hero, only because he seizes up-
 “ on and usurps whole provinces ? Permit me, sir,
 “ to ask you, what title have you to Scythia ?
 “ What injury have the Scythians done you ? What
 “ reason can you alledge for declaring war against
 “ them ? The war indeed, in which you have been
 “ engaged against the Babylonians, was at the same
 “ time both just and necessary : the gods have accord-
 “ ingly crowned it with an happy success. It belongs
 “ to you, sir, to judge, whether that, which you are
 “ now going to undertake, is of the same nature.”

Nothing but the generous zeal of a brother, truly concerned for the glory of his prince, and the good of his country, could inspire such a freedom : as on the other hand nothing but a perfect moderation in the prince could make him capable of bearing with it. Darius, as † Tacitus observes of another great emperor, had the art of reconciling two things, which are generally incompatible, namely dominion and liberty. Far from being offended at the freedom used by his brother, he thanked him for his good advice, tho’ he did not follow it : for he had taken his resolution. He departed from Susa at the head of

* Ut felicitatis est quantum † Nerva Cæsar res olim dis-
 velis posse, sic magnitudinis sociabiles miscuit, principatum
 velle quantum possis. *Plin. in* et libertatem. *Tacit. in vit.*
Pau. Traj. *Agric. cap. 3.*

DARIUS. an army of seven hundred thousand men, and his fleet consisting of six hundred sail of ships, was chiefly manned with Ionians, and other Grecian nations, that dwelt upon the sea coasts of Asia minor and the Hellespont. He marched his army towards the Thracian Bosphorus which he passed upon a bridge of boats : after which having made himself master of all Thrace, he came to the banks of the Danube, otherwise called the Ister, where he had ordered his fleet to come and join him. In several places on his march he caused pillars to be erected with magnificent inscriptions, in one of which he suffered himself to be called, *the best and handsomest of all men living.*

+ What a littleness of soul and vanity was this !

And yet if all this prince's faults had terminated only in sentiments of pride and vanity, perhaps they would appear more excusable, than they do ; at least they would not have been so pernicious to his subjects. But how shall we reconcile Darius's disposition, which seemed to be so exceeding humane and gentle, with a barbarous and cruel action of his towards Oebazus, a venerable old man, whose merit, as well as quality, entitled him to respect ? This nobleman had three sons, who were all preparing themselves to attend the king in this expedition against the Scythians. Upon Darius's departure from Susa, the good old father begged as a favour of him, that he would please to leave him one of his sons at home, to be a comfort to him in his old age. *One*, replied Darius, *will not be sufficient for you ; I will leave you all the three :* and immediately he caused them all to be put to death.

When the army had passed the Danube upon a bridge of boats, the king was for having the bridge broken, that his army should not be weakened by leaving so considerable a detachment of his troops, as would be necessary to guard it. But one of his officers represented to him, that it might be proper

to keep that, as a necessary resource, in case they met with an unfortunate event in the war with the Scythians. The king gave in to this opinion, and committed the guarding of the bridge to the care of the Ionians, who built it; giving them leave at the same time to go back to their own country, if he did not return in the space of two months: Then he proceeded on his march to Scythia.

As soon as the Scythians were informed, that Darius was marching against them, they immediately entered into consultation upon the measures proper to be taken on such an occasion. They were very sensible, that they alone were not in a condition to resist so formidable an enemy. They applied therefore to all the neighbouring nations, and desired their assistance, alledging that the danger was general and concerned them all, and that it was their common interest to oppose an enemy, whose views of conquest were not confined to one nation. Some returned favourable answers to their demand: others absolutely refused to enter into a war, which, they said, did not regard them; but they had soon reason to repent their refusal.

One wise precaution taken by the Scythians, was to secure their wives and children by sending them in carriages to the most northern parts of the country; and with them likewise they sent all their herds and flocks, reserving nothing to themselves but what was necessary for the support of their army. Another precaution of theirs, was to fill up all their wells, and stop up their springs, and to consume all the forage in those parts, through which the Persian army was to pass. This done, they went, in conjunction with their allies, to meet the enemy, not in order to give him battle, for they were determined to avoid that, but to draw him into such places, as they had a mind he should come into. Whenever the Persians seemed disposed to attack them, they still retired before them, and went farther

Her. l. 4.
c. 102,
118, 119.

Her. l. 4.
c. 120,
125.

DARIUS. up into the country : and thus they drew them on from country to country, into the territories of those nations, that had refused to enter into alliance with them, by which means their lands became a prey to the two armies of the Persians and Scythians.

Her. l. 4. Darius, weary of these tedious and fatiguing pursuits, sent an herald to the king of the Scythians, whose name was Indathyrfus, with this message in his name. “ Prince of the Scythians, wherefore
c. 126, “ dost thou continually fly before me ? Why dost
127. “ thou not stop somewhere, or other, either to give
“ me battle, if thou believest thy self able to en-
“ counter me, or, if thou thinkest thy self too
“ weak, to acknowledge thy master, by presenting
“ him with earth and water ?” The Scythians were an high-spirited people, extremely jealous of their liberty, and professed enemies to all slavery. Indathyrfus sent Darius the following answer : “ If I
“ fly before thee, prince of the Persians, it is not
“ because I fear thee : what I do now, is no more
“ than what I am used to do in time of peace.
“ We Scythians have neither cities nor lands to de-
“ fend : if thou hast a mind to force us to come to an
“ engagement, come and attack the tombs of our fa-
“ thers, and thou shalt find what manner of men
“ we are. As to the title of master, which thou
“ assumest, keep it for other nations, than the Scy-
“ thians. For my part I acknowledge no other
“ master, than the great Jupiter, one of my own
“ ancestors, and the goddess Vesta.

Ibid. c. The farther Darius advanced into the country,
128, 130. the greater hardships his army was exposed to. Just when it was reduced to the last extremities, there came an herald to Darius from the Scythian prince, with a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows for a present. The king desired to know the meaning of those gifts. The messenger answered, that his orders were only to deliver them, and nothing more ; and that it was left to the Persian king to find out the

the meaning. Darius concluded at first, that the Scythians thereby consented to deliver up the earth and water to him, which were represented by a mouse and a frog; as also their cavalry, whose swiftness was represented by the bird; together with their own persons and arms, signified by the arrows. But Gobrias, one of the seven lords, that had deposed the Magian impostor, expounded the enigma in the following manner: "Know," says he to the Persians, "that unless you can fly away in the air like birds, or hide your selves in the earth like mice, or swim in the water like frogs, you shall in no wise be able to avoid the arrows of the Scythians."

And indeed, the whole Persian army, marching in a vast, uncultivated, and barren country, in which there was no water, ~~it~~ was reduced to so deplorable a condition, that they had nothing before their eyes but inevitable ruin: nor was Darius himself exempt from the common danger. He owed his preservation to a camel, which was loaded with water, and followed him with great difficulty thro' that wild and desert country. The king was not unmindful afterwards of his benefactor: to reward him for the service he had done him, and the fatigues he had undergone, on his return into Asia, he settled a certain district of his own upon him for his peculiar use and subsistence, for which reason the place was called Gangamele, that is, in the Persian tongue, *the camel's habitation*. It was near this same place that Darius Codomannus received a second overthrow by Alexander the Great.

Darius deliberated no longer, finding himself under an absolute necessity of quitting his imprudent enterprize. He began then to think in earnest upon returning home; and saw but too plainly, that there was no time to be lost. Therefore as soon as night came, the Persians, to deceive the enemy, lighted a great number of fires, as usual; and leaving the old men and the sick behind them in the camp, to-

Strab. l. 7.
p. 305. &
l. 16. p.
737.

Her. l. 4.
c. 134,
140.

DARIUS. together with all their asses, which made a sufficient noise, they marched away, as fast as they could, in order to reach the Danube. The Scythians did not perceive they were gone, till the next morning: whereupon they immediately sent a considerable detachment as quick as possible to the Danube: this detachment being perfectly well acquainted with the roads of the country, arrived at the bridge a great while before the Persians. The Scythians had sent expresses beforehand to persuade the Ionians to break the bridge, and to return to their own country: and the latter had promised to do it, but without design to execute their promise. Now the Scythians pressed them to it more earnestly, and represented to them, that the time, prescribed to them by Darius for staying there was elapsed; that they were at liberty to return home without either violating their word or their duty; that they now had it in their power to throw off for ever the yolk of their subjection, and make themselves a happy and free people; and that the Scythians would render Darius incapable of forming any more enterprizes against any of his neighbours.

The Ionians entered into consultation upon the affair. Miltiades, an Athenian, who was prince, or, as the Greeks call it, tyrant of the Chersonesus of Thrace at the mouth of the Hellespont, was one of those, that had accompanied Darius, and furnished him with ships to favour his enterprize. He, * having the publick interest more at heart than his own private advantage, was of opinion, that they should comply with the request of the Scythians, and embrace so favourable an opportunity of recovering the liberty of Ionia: all the other commanders gave into his sentiments, except Hystiazus, the tyrant of Miletos.

* *Amicior omnium libertati quam suæ dominationi fuit. Corn. Nep.*

When it came to his turn to speak, he represented DARIUS. to the Ionian generals, that their fortune was linked with that of Darius; that it was under that prince's protection, each of them was master in his own city; and if the power of the Persians should sink, or decline, the cities of Ionia would not fail to depose their Tyrants, and recover their freedom. All the other chiefs gave into his opinion; and, as is usual in most cases, the consideration of private interest prevailed over the publick good. The resolution they came to was to wait for Darius: but, in order to deceive the Scythians, and hinder them from undertaking any thing, they declared to them, they had resolved to retire, pursuant to their request; and, the better to carry on the fraud, they actually began to break one end of the bridge, exhorting the Scythians at the same time to do their part, to return speedily back to meet the common enemy, to fall upon and defeat them. The Scythians being too credulous, retired, and were deceived a second time.

They missed Darius, who had taken a different Her. 1. 4. rout from that they expected to find him in: he arrived by night at the bridge over the Danube, and C. 141. finding it broken, he no longer doubted but the Ionians were gone, and that consequently he should be ruined. He made his people call out with a loud voice for Hyftizæus, the Miletian, who at last answered, and put the king out of his anxiety. They entirely repaired the bridge; so that Darius repassed the Danube, and came back into Thrace. There he left Megabyfus, one of his chief generals, with part of his army, to compleat the conquest of that country, and entirely reduce it under his dominion. After which he repassed the Bosphorus with the rest of his troops, and went to Sardis, where he spent the winter and the greatest part of the year following, in order to refresh his army, which had suffered ex- 144.

DARIUS. tremely in that ill-concerted and unfortunate expedition.

Her. l. 5. Megabysus continued some time in Thrace; whose inhabitants, according to Herodotus, would have been invincible, had they had the discretion to unite their forces, and to chuse one chief commander. Among some of the Thracians there were very particular customs. In one of their districts, when a child came into the world, all the relations expressed great sorrow and affliction, bitterly weeping at the prospect of misery that was before the new-born infant. As on the other hand, when any person died, all their kindred rejoiced, because they looked upon the deceased person, as happy only from that moment, wherein he was delivered for ever from the troubles and calamities of this life. In another district, where polygamy was in fashion, when a husband died, it was a great dispute among his wives, which of them was the best beloved. She, in whose favour the contest was decided, had the privilege of being sacrificed by her nearest relation upon the tomb of her husband, and of being buried with him; whilst all the other wives envied her happiness, and thought themselves in some sort dishonoured.

Ibid. c. 11, et 23. Darius, on his return to Sardis after his unhappy expedition against the Scythians, having learnt for certain, that he owed both his own safety and that of his whole army to Hystiæus, who had persuaded the Ionians not to destroy the bridge on the Danube, sent for that prince to his court, and desired him freely to ask any favour, in recompence of his service. Hystiæus hereupon desired the king to give him Mircina of Edonia, a territory upon the river Strymon in Thrace, together with the liberty of building a city there. His request was readily granted: whereupon he returned to Miletos, where he caused a fleet of ships to be equipped, and then set out for Thrace. And having taken possession of the territory,

territory, that was granted him, he immediately set DARIUS. about the execution of his project in building a city.

Megabyfus, who was then governour of Thrace Ibid. c. 23, et 25. for Darius, immediately perceived how prejudicial that undertaking would be to the king's affairs in those quarters. He considered, that this new city stood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it abounded in timber fit for building of ships; that it was inhabited by different nations, both Greeks, and Barbarians, that might furnish great numbers of men for land and sea-service; that, if once those people were under the management of a prince so skilful and enterprizing as was Hyftiæus, they might become so powerful both by sea and land, that it would be no longer possible for the king to keep them in subjection: especially considering, that they had a great many gold and silver mines in that country, which would enable them to carry on any projects or enterprizes. At his return to Sardis, he represented all these things to the king, who was convinced by his reasons, and therefore sent for Hyftiæus to come to him at Sardis, pretending to have some great designs in view, wherein he wanted the assistance of his counsel. And, when he had thus drawn him to his court, he carried him to Susa, making him believe, that he set an extraordinary value upon a friend of his fidelity and understanding; two qualifications, that had rendered him so very dear to him, and of ~~which~~ ^{the} he had given such memorable proofs in ~~the~~ Scythian expedition; and giving him to understand at the same time, that he should be able to find something for him in Persia, which would make him ample amends for all, that he could leave behind him. Hyftiæus, pleased with so honourable a distinction, and finding himself likewise under a necessity of complying, accompani-
ed

DARIUS. ed Darius to Susa, and left Aristagoras to govern at Miletos in his room.

Ibid. c. 17. et 21. Whilst Megabyfus was still in Thrace he sent several Persian noblemen to Amintas, king of Macedonia, to require him to give earth and water to Darius his master: this was the usual form of one prince's submitting to another. Amintas readily complied with that request, and paid all imaginable honours to the envoys. At an entertainment, which he made for them, they desired at the latter end of it, that the ladies might be brought in, which was a thing contrary to the custom of the country: however the king would not venture to refuse them. The Persian noblemen, being heated with wine, and thinking they might use the same freedom, as in their own country, did not observe a due decorum towards those princesses. The king's son, whose name was Alexander, could not see his mother and sisters treated in such a manner, without great resentment and indignation. Wherefore upon some pretence or other he contrived to send the ladies out of the room, as if they were to return again presently; and had the precaution likewise to get the king, his father, out of the company. In this interval he caused some young men to be drest like women, and to be armed with poniards under their garments. These pretended ladies came into the room instead of the others; and when the Persians began to treat them, as they had before treated the princesses, they drew out their poniards, fell violently upon them, and killed, not only the noblemen, but every one of their attendants. The news of this slaughter soon reached Susa; and the king appointed commissioners to take cognizance of the matter: but Alexander, by the power of bribes and presents, stifled the affair, so that nothing came of it.

Her. 1. 6. The Scythians, to be revenged of Darius for his invading their country, passed the Danube, and ravaged all that part of Thrace; that had submitted to the Persians,

Persians, as far as the Hellespont. Miltiades, to avoid their fury, abandoned the Chersonesus: but after the enemy was gone back, he returned thither again, and was restored to the same power he had before over the inhabitants of the country.

S E C T. V.

Darius's conquest of India.

ABOUT the same time, which was in the 13th A. M, year of Darius's reign, this prince having an ambition to extend his dominion eastwards, first resolved, in order to facilitate his conquests, to get a proper knowledge of the country. To this end, he caused a fleet to be built and equipped at Caspatyre, a city standing upon the Indus, and did the same at several other places on the same river, as far as the frontiers of * Scythia. The command of this fleet was given to † Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandia, a town of Caria, who was perfectly well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were to sail down that river, and get all the knowledge he possibly could of the country, on both sides, quite down to the mouth of the river; to pass from thence into the southern ocean, and to steer his course afterwards to the west, and so return back that way to Persia. Scylax, having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed quite down the river Indus, entered the red sea by the Streights of Babelmandel; and after a voyage of thirty months from the time of his setting out from Caspatyre he arrived in Egypt at the

DARIUS.

3496.
Ant. J. C.
508.

Her. l. 4
c. 44.

* He means the Asiatick Scythia.

† There is a treatise of geography, entitled, *περίπλους*, and composed by one Scylax of Cariandia, who is thought to be the same person, as is spoken of in this place. But that opinion is attended with some difficulties, which have given occasion to many learned dissertations.

DARIUS. same port, from whence Nechao, king of Egypt, had formerly sent the Phœnicians, who were in his service, with orders to sail round the coasts of Africa. Very probably, this was the same port, where now stands the town of Suez, at the farther end of the red sea. From thence Scylax returned to Susa, where he gave Darius an account of all his observations. Darius hereupon entered India with an army, and brought all that vast country under his dominion. The reader will naturally expect to be informed of the particulars of so important a war. But **L. 3. c. 94.** Herodotus says not one word about it: he only tells us, that India made the twentieth province, or government of the Persian empire, and that the annual revenue of it was worth three hundred and sixty talents of gold to Darius, which amount to near eleven millions of livres french money.

S E C T. VI.

The revolt of the Ionians.

A. M. **DARIUS**, after his return to Susa from his Scythian expedition, had given his brother Artaphernes the government of Sardis, and made Otanes commander in Thrace, and the adjacent countries along the sea-coast, in the room of Megabyfus.

Ant. J. C. From a small spark, kindled by a sedition at Naxos, a great flame arose, which gave occasion to a considerable war. Naxos was the most important island of the Cyclades in the Egæan sea, now called the Archipelago. In this sedition the principal inhabitants having been crushed by the populace, who were the greater number; many of the richest families were banished out of the island. Hereupon they fled to Miletos, and addressed themselves to Aristagoras, beseeching him to restore them to their own country. He was at this time governour of that city, as lieutenant to Hyftiæus, to whom he was both nephew and

and son-in-law, and whom Darius had carried along DARIUS. with him to Susa. Aristagoras promised to give these exiled gentlemen the assistance they required.

But, not being powerful enough himself to execute what he had promised, he went to Sardis and communicated the affair to Artaphernes. He represented to him, that this was a very favourable opportunity of reducing Naxos under the power of Darius; that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the Cyclades would fall under his dominion, one after another; that then the isle of Eubœa, (now Negroponte) that was as large as Cyprus, lying very near the other, would be easily conquered, which would give the king a free passage into Greece, and furnish him with the means of bringing all that country under his subjection; and in short, that an hundred ships would be sufficient for the effectual execution of this enterprize. Artaphernes was so pleased with the project, that instead of one hundred vessels, which Aristagoras required, he promised him two hundred, in case he obtained the king's consent to the expedition.

The king, charmed with the mighty expectations, wherewith he was flattered, very readily approved of the enterprize, though at the bottom it was founded upon nothing but injustice and a boundless ambition; as also upon perfidiousness on the part of Aristagoras and Artaphernes. The king does not hesitate a moment. The most injurious project is formed and allowed of without the least reluctance or scruple: the affair is decided merely upon the motives of advantage and convenience. The isle lies convenient for the Persians: this they look upon as a sufficient title, and a warrantable ground to reduce it by force of arms. And indeed, most of the other expeditions of this prince, proceeded from the same principle.

As soon as Artaphernes had obtained the king's consent to this project, he made the necessary preparations

DARIUS. rations for executing it. The better to conceal his design, and to surprize the people of Naxos, he spread a report, that this fleet was going towards the Hellespont; and the spring following he sent the number of ships he had promised to Miletos under the command of Megabates, a Persian nobleman of the royal family of Archæmenes. But, being directed in his commission to obey the orders of Aristagoras, this haughty Persian could not bear to be under the command of an Ionian, especially one, who treated him in an imperious manner. This pique occasioned a thorough breach between the two generals, which was carried on so far, that Megabates, to be revenged of Aristagoras, gave the Naxians secret intelligence of the design that was formed against them. Upon which intelligence they made such preparations for their defence, that the Persians, after having spent four months in besieging the chief town of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were obliged to retire.

Her. l. 5. This project having thus miscarried, Megabates
c. 35, 36. threw all the blame upon Aristagoras and entirely destroyed his credit with Artaphernes. The Ionian foresaw, that this accident would be attended, not only with the loss of his government, but with his utter ruin. The desperate situation he was in made him think of revolting from the king, as the only expedient, whereby he could possibly save himself. No sooner had he formed this design, but a messenger came to him from Hystiæus, who gave him the same counsel. Hystiæus, who had now been some years at the Persian court, being disgusted at the manners of that nation, and having an ardent desire to return to his own country, thought this the most likely means of bringing it about, and therefore gave Aristagoras that counsel. He flattered himself, that in case any disturbances arose in Ionia, he could prevail with Darius to send him thither to appease them: and in effect the thing happened according
to

to his opinion. As soon as Aristagoras found his DARIUS. designs seconded by the orders of Hystiazus, he imparted them to the principal men of the country, whom he found extremely well disposed to enter into his views. He therefore deliberated no longer, but being determined to revolt, applied himself wholly to prepare the way to it.

The people of Tyre, having been reduced to A. M. 3502. slavery, when their city was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, had groaned under that oppression for the space of Ant. J. C. 502. seventy years. But after the expiration of that term, they were restored, according to Isaiah's prophecy *, to the possession of their antient privileges, together with the liberty of having a king of their own; which liberty they enjoyed till the time of Alexander the Great. It seems probable, that this favour was granted them by Darius, in consideration of the services he expected to receive from that city, (which was so powerful by sea) towards his bringing back the Ionians to their antient subjection. This was in the 19th year of Darius's reign.

The next year, Aristagoras, in order to engage the Ibid. Ionians to adhere the more closely to him, re-instated c. 37, 38. them in their liberty, and in all their former privileges. He began with Miletos, where he divested himself of his power, and gave it up into the hands of the people. He then made a journey through all Ionia, where by his example, his credit, and perhaps by making them afraid, that they would be forced to it, whether they would, or no, he prevailed upon all the other tyrants to do the same thing in every city. They complied the more readily with it, as the Persian power, since the check it received in Scythia, was the less able to protect them against the Ionians, who were naturally fond of liberty and a state of independency, and professed enemies to all

* *And it shall come to pass and she shall turn to her hire. after the end of seventy years, Isa. xxiii. 17, that the Lord will visit Tyre,*

DARIUS. tyranny. When he had hereby united them all in one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he set up a standard of rebellion against the king, and made great preparations by sea and land for supporting a war against him.

Ibid. c. To enable himself to carry on the war with more
 38, 41, 49 vigour, Aristagoras went in the beginning of the
 & 51. year following, to Lacedæmon, in order to draw that city into his interests, and engage it to furnish him with succours. Cleomenes was at this time king of Sparta. He was the son of Anaxandrides by a second wife, whom the Ephori had obliged him to marry, because he had no issue by the first. He had by her three other sons besides Cleomenes, namely, Doræus, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus, the two last of which ascended the throne of Lacedæmon in their turns. Aristagoras then addressed himself to Cleomenes, and the time and place for an interview between them being agreed on, he waited upon him, and represented to him, that the Ionians and Lacedæmonians were countrymen; that Sparta being the most powerful city of Greece, it would be for her honour to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the Ionians to their liberty; that the Persians, their common enemy, were not a warlike people, but exceeding rich and wealthy, and consequently would become an easy prey to the Lacedæmonians; that, considering the present spirit and disposition of the Ionians, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to Susa, the metropolis of the Persian empire, and the place of the king's residence: he shewed him, at the same time, a description of all the nations and towns, through which they were to pass, engraven upon a little plate of brass, which he had brought along with him. Cleomenes desired three days time to consider of the matter. This term being expired, he asked the Ionian, what was the distance from the Ionian sea to Susa, and how much time it required

to make the voyage from one place to the other, DARIUS.
Aristagoras, without considering the effect his answer was likely to have with Cleomenes, told him, that from Ionia to Susa was about a three months * journey. Cleomenes was so amazed at this proposal, that he forthwith ordered him to depart from Sparta before sun-set. Aristagoras nevertheless followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to win him by arguments of another sort, that is, by presents. The first sum he offered him was only ten talents, which were equivalent to thirty thousand livres, french money : that being refused, he still rose in his offers, till at last he proposed to give him fifty talents. Gorgo, a daughter of Cleomenes, about eight or nine years of age, whom her father had not ordered to quit the room, as apprehending nothing from so young a child, hearing the proposals that were made to her father, cryed out: *Fly, father, fly ; this stranger will corrupt you.* Cleomenes laughed, but yet observed the child's admonition, and actually retired : and Aristagoras left Sparta.

From hence he proceeded to Athens, where he Ibid. c. 55, & 96-97.
found a more favourable reception. He had the good fortune to arrive there at a time, when the Athenians were extremely well disposed to hearken to any proposals that could be made to them against the Persians, with whom they were highly offended on the following occasion. Hyppias, the † son of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, about ten years before the time we are speaking of, had been sent into ba-

* According to Herodotus's computation, who reckons the parasanga, a Persian measure, to contain 30 stadia, it is from Sardis to Susa 450 parasanga, or 13500 stadia, which make 675 of our leagues: (for we generally reckon 20 stadia to one of our common leagues.) So that by travelling 150 stadia per day, which

make seven leagues and an half; our measure, it is a journey of ninety days from Sardis to Susa. If they set out from Ephesus, it would require about four days more: for Ephesus is 540 stadia distant from Sardis.

† This fact has been treated of at large in the former volume, p. 587, &c.

DARIUS. nishment ; and having try'd in vain abundance of ways to bring about his restoration, at last went to Sardis, and made his application to Artaphernes. He insinuated himself so far into the good opinion of that governour, that he gave a favourable ear to all the other said, to the disadvantage of the Athenians, and became extremely prejudiced against them. The Athenians, having intelligence of this, sent an ambassador to Sardis, and desired of Artaphernes, not to give ear to what any of their out-laws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer of Artaphernes to this message was, that if they desired to live in peace, they must recall Hippias. When this haughty answer was brought back to the Athenians, it put the whole city into a rage against the Persians. Aristagoras, coming thither just at this juncture, easily obtained whatever he desired. Herodotus remarks on this occasion, how much easier it is to impose upon a multitude, than upon a single person : and so Aristagoras found it : for he prevailed with thirty thousand Athenians to come to a resolution, into which he could not persuade Cleomenes alone. They engaged immediately to furnish twenty ships to assist him in his design : and it may be truly said, that this little fleet was the original source of all the calamities, in which both the Persians and Grecians were afterwards involved.

Ibid. c.
99, 103.

In the 3d year of this war, the Ionians, having collected all their forces together, with the twenty vessels, furnished by the city of Athens, and five more, from Eretria, in the island of Euboea, they set sail for Ephesus : Where, leaving their ships behind them, they marched by land to the city of Sardis ; and finding the town in a defenceless condition, they soon made themselves masters of it ; but the cittadel, into which Artaphernes retired, they were not able to force. As most of the houses of this city were built with reeds, and consequently were very combustible, an Ionian soldier set fire to

one house; and the flame, spreading and communi- DARIUS.
cating it self to the rest, reduced the whole city to
ashes. Upon this accident the Persians and Ly-
dians, assembling their forces together for their
defence, the Ionians judged it was time for them
to think of retreating: and accordingly they
marched back with all possible diligence, in order
to reimbarc upon their ships at Ephesus: but the
Persians, arriving there almost as soon as they, at-
tacked them vigorously, and destroyed a great num-
ber of their men. When the Athenians had got
their ships and men home again, they would never
engage any more in this war, notwithstanding all
the instances and sollicitations of Aristagoras:

Darius being informed of the burning of Sardis, Ibid.
and of the part, the Athenians took in that affair, c. 105.
he resolved from that very time to make war upon
Greece: and, that he might never forget his resolu-
tion, he commanded one of his officers to cry out
to him with a loud voice every day, when he was at
supper: *Sir, remember the Athenians.* In the burn-
ing of Sardis it happened, that the temple of Cy-
bele, the goddess of that country, was consumed
with the rest of the city. This accident served af-
terwards as a pretence to the Persians to burn all the
temples they found in Greece: to which they were
likewise led by a motive of religion, which I have
explained in another place.

As Aristagoras, the head and manager of this re- Her. 1. 5.
volt, was Hyftiaëus's lieutenant at Miletos, Darius c. 105. &
suspected, that the latter might probably be the con- 107.
triver of the whole conspiracy: for which reason he
entered into a free conference with him upon the
subject, and acquainted him with his thoughts, and
the reasonable grounds he had for his suspicions.
Hyftiaëus, who was a crafty courtier, and an expert
master in the art of dissembling, appeared extremely
surprized and afflicted; then speaking in a tone,
that at once expressed both sorrow and indignation;

DARIUS. thus endeavoured to purge himself to the king: "Is it possible then for your majesty to have entertained so injurious a suspicion of the most faithful and most affectionate of your servants? I, be concerned in a rebellion against you! Alas! What is there in the world, that could tempt me to it? Do I want any thing here? Am I not already raised to one of the highest stations in your court? And besides the honour. I have of assisting at your councils, I daily receive new proofs of your bounty, by the numberless favours you heap upon me." After this he insinuated, that the revolt in Ionia proceeded from his absence and distance from the country; that they had waited for that opportunity to rebell; that, if he had staid at Miletos, the conspiracy would never have been formed; that the surest way to restore the king's affairs in that country, would be to send him thither; that he promised him on the forfeiture of his head to deliver Aristagoras into his hands, and engaged, besides all this, to make the large island of * Sardinia tributary to him. The best princes are often too credulous; and when they have once taken a subject into their confidence, it is with difficulty they withdraw it from him; nor do they easily, undeceive themselves. [Darius imposed upon by that air of sincerity, with which Hyftiæus discoursed on this matter, believed him on his own word, and gave him leave to return to Ionia, on condition he came back to the Persian court, as soon as he had executed what he undertook.

HER. l. 5. The revolters in the mean time, though deserted by the Athenians, and notwithstanding the considerable check they had received in Ionia, did not lose courage, but still pushed on their point with re-

* This island is very remote from Ionia, and could have no relation to it. I am therefore apt to believe it must be an error, that has crept into the Text of Herodotus.

solution. Their fleet set sail towards the Hellespont, DARIUS and the Propontis, and reduced Bizantium, with the major-part of the other Grecian cities, in that quarter. After which, as they were returning back again, they obliged the Carians to join with them in this war, as also the people of Cyprus. The Persian generals, having divided their forces among themselves, marched three different ways, against the rebels; and defeated them in several encounters, in one of which Aristagoras was slain.

When Hystæus came to Sardis, his intriguing Ibid. l. 6. temper carried him to form a plot against the go- c. 1-5. vernment, into which he drew a great number of Persians. But, perceiving by some discourse he had with Artaphernes, that the part he had had in the revolt of Ionia was not unknown to that governour, he thought it not safe for him to stay any longer at Sardis; and conveying himself out secretly the night following, he passed to the isle of Chios; from thence he sent a trusty messenger to Sardis, with letters for such of the Persians, as he had gained to his party. This messenger betrayed him, and delivered his letters to Artaphernes, by which means the plot was discovered, all his accomplices put to death, and his project utterly defeated. But still imagining, that he could bring about some enterprize of importance, if he were but once at the head of the Ionian league, he made several attempts to get into Miletos, and to be admitted into the confederacy by the citizens: but none of his endeavours succeeded, and he was obliged to return to Chios.

There, being asked why he had so strongly urged Ibid. c. 3. Aristagoras to revolt, and by that means involved Ionia in such calamities, he made answer, that it was, because the king had resolved to transport the Ionians into Phœnicia, and to plant the Phœnicians in Ionia. But all this was a mere story and fiction of his own inventing, a design of that nature never having entered into the head of Darius. The artifice

DARIUS. however served his purpose extremely well; not only for justifying him to the Ionians, but also for engaging them to prosecute the war with vigour. For, being alarmed at the thoughts of this transmigration, they took a firm resolution to defend themselves against the Persians to the last extremity.

Ibid. c. 6,
20, 31,
& 33. Artaphernes and Otanes, with the rest of the Persian generals, finding that Miletos was the center of the Ionian confederacy, they resolved to march thither with all their forces; concluding, that, if they could carry that city, all the rest would submit of their own accord. The Ionians, having intelligence of their design, determined in a general assembly to send no army into the field, but to fortify Miletos, and to furnish it as well as possible, with provisions and all things necessary for enduring a siege: and to gather all their forces together to engage the Persians at sea, their dexterity in maritime affairs inducing them to believe, that they should have the advantage in a naval engagement. The place of their rendezvous was Lada, a small isle over against Miletos, where they met together, and made up a fleet of three hundred fifty three vessels. At the sight of this fleet, the Persians, though stronger by one half with respect to the number of their ships, were afraid, and avoided the risking of a battle, till by their emissaries they had secretly debauched the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert: So that, when the two fleets came to encounter, the ships of Samos, of Lesbos, and several other places, sailed off, and returned to their own country, and the remaining fleet of the confederates did not consist of above an hundred vessels; which were all quickly overpowered by the number of the Persian ships, and almost entirely destroyed. After this, the city of Miletos was besieged, and became a prey to the conquerors, who utterly destroyed it. This happened six years after

after Aristagoras's revolt. All the other towns, as DARIUS. well on the continent, as on the sea-coast and in the isles, returned to their duty soon after, either voluntarily, or by force. Those persons, that stood out, were treated as they had been threatned before-hand. The handsomest of the young men were chosen out to serve in the king's palace; and the young women were all sent into Persia: the cities and temples were reduced to ashes. These were the effects of the revolt, into which the people were drawn by the ambitious views of Aristagoras and Hystiæus.

The last of these two had his share in the general Ibid. c. calamity: for that same year he was taken by the 29, & 30. Persians, and carried to Sardis, where Artaphernes caused him to be immediately hanged, without consulting Darius, lest that prince's affection for Hystiæus should incline him to pardon him, and by that means a dangerous enemy should be left alive, who might create new disturbances to the Persians. It appeared by the sequel, that Artaphernes's conjecture was well grounded: for when Hystiæus's head was brought to Darius, he expressed great dissatisfaction at the authors of his death, and caused the head to be honourably interred, as being the remains of a person, to whom he had infinite obligations, the remembrance whereof was too deeply engraven on his mind, ever to be blotted out by the greatness of any faults he had committed afterwards. Hystiæus was one of your restless, bold, and enterprising spirits; in whom many good qualities are joined with still greater vices; with whom all means are lawful and good, that serve to promote the end they have in view; who look upon justice, probity, and sincerity, as bare empty names, without reality; who make no scruple of using lying, or fraud, treachery, or perjury, when it is to serve their turn; and who reckon it as nothing to ruin nations, or even their own country, if it be necessary to their own elevation. His end was suitable to his sentiments,

DARIUS. and what is pretty common to those irreligious politicians, who sacrifice every thing in the world to their own ambition, and acknowledge no other rule of their actions, and hardly any other God, than their interest and fortune,

S E C T. VII.

The expedition of Darius's armies against Greece.

A. M.

3510.

Ant. J. C.

494.

Her. I. 6.

c. 43, 45.

DARIUS, in the twenty eighth year of his reign, having recalled all his other generals, sent Mardonius the son of Gobryas, a young lord of an illustrious Persian family, who had lately married one of the king's daughters, to command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Asia, with a particular order to invade Greece, and to take vengeance of the Athenians and Eretrians for the burning of Sardis. The king did not shew much wisdom in this choice, by which he preferred a young man because he was a favourite, to all his oldest and most experienced generals; especially as it was in so difficult a war, the success of which he had very much at heart, and wherein the glory of his reign was infinitely concerned. His being son-in-law to the king was a quality indeed, that might augment his credit, but added nothing to his real merit, nor contributed any thing towards the making him an excellent commander.

At his coming into Macedonia, where he had marched with his land-forces after having passed through Thrace, the whole country terrified at such a mighty army, submitted. But his fleet, attempting to double mount Athos (now called Capo Santo) in order to gain the coasts of Macedonia, was attacked with so violent a storm of wind, that upwards of three hundred ships, together with above twenty thousand men, perished in the sea. His land-army met at the same time with no less fatal a blow. For,

it

it being incamped in a place of no security, the DARIUS. Thracians attacked the Persian camp by night, made a great slaughter of the men, and wounded Mardonius himself. All this ill success obliged him shortly after to return into Asia, with grief and confusion at his having miscarried both by sea and land in this expedition.

Darius, perceiving too late, that Mardonius's youth and inexperience had occasioned the defeat of his troops, recalled him, and put two other generals in his place, Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, son of his brother Artaphernes, who had been governor of Sardis. The king's thoughts were earnestly bent upon putting the great design, he had long had in his mind, in execution: namely, to attack Greece with all his forces, and particularly to take a signal vengeance of the people of Athens and Eretria, whose enterprize against Sardis was perpetually in his memory,

I. The state of Athens. The characters of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides.

Before we enter upon this war, it will be proper to refresh our memories with a view of the state of Athens at this time; which alone sustained the first shock of the Persians at Marathon; as also to form some idea before-hand of the great men, concerned in that celebrated victory.

Athens, just delivered from that yolk of servitude, which she had been forced to bear for above thirty years under the tyranny of Pisistratus and his children, now peaceably enjoyed the advantages of liberty, the sweetness and value of which were only heightened and improved by that short privation. Lacædemon, which was at this time the mistress of Greece, and had contributed at first to this happy change in Athens, seemed afterwards to repent of her good offices: and growing jealous at the peaceful

DARIUS. ful tranquillity, she herself had procured for her neighbours, she attempted to disturb it, by endeavouring to set again Hippias the son of Pisistratus, on the throne of Athens. But all her attempts were fruitless, and served only to manifest her ill-will, and her grief, to see Athens determined to live independent even of Sparta itself. Hippias hereupon had recourse to the Persians. Artaphernes, governour of Sardis, sent the Athenians word, as we have already mentioned, that they must restore Hippias to his throne, unless they had a mind to draw the whole power of Darius upon them. This second attempt succeeding no better than the first, Hippias was obliged to wait for a more favourable juncture. We shall see presently, that he served as a conductor or guide to the Persian generals, sent by Darius against Greece.

Athens, since the recovery of her liberty, was quite another city than under her tyrants, and displayed a very different sort of courage. Among the citizens, Miltiades was the man, who distinguished himself most in the war with the Persians, which we are going to relate. He was the son of Cimon an illustrious Athenian. This Cimon had a half-brother by the mother's side, whose name was likewise Miltiades, of a very antient and noble family, in Egina, who had lately been received into the number of the Athenian citizens. He was a person of great credit even in the time of Pisistratus: but, being unwilling to bear the yoke of a despotick government, he joyfully embraced the offer, made him, of going to settle with a colony in the Thracian Chersonesus, where he was invited by the Dolonci, the inhabitants of that country, to be their king, or, according to the language of those times, their tyrant. He dying without children, left the sovereignty to Stefagoras, who was his nephew, and eldest son of his brother Cimon; and Stefagoras dying likewise without issue, the sons of Pisistratus, who

Her. l. 6.
c. 34, 41.
Cor. Nep.
in mil.
Cap. 1-3.

who then ruled the city of Athens, sent his brother DARIUS. Miltiades, the person we are now speaking of, into that country to be his successor. He arrived there, and mounted the throne in the same year Darius undertook his expedition against the Scythians. He attended that prince with some ships as far as the Danube; and was the person, who advised the Ionians to destroy the bridge, and return home without waiting for Darius. During his residence in the Chersonesus, he married * Hegesipyla, daughter of Olorus, a Thracian king in the neighbourhood, by whom he had Cimon, that famous Athenian general, of whom a great deal will be said in the sequel. Miltiades, having for several reasons abdicated his government in Thrace, embarked, and took all that he had on board five ships, and set sail for Athens. There he settled a second time, and acquired a great reputation.

At the same time, two other citizens, younger than Miltiades, began to distinguish themselves at Athens, namely Aristides and Themistocles. Plutarch observes, that the former of these two had endeavoured to form himself upon [the model of Clifthenes, one of the greatest men of his time, and a zealous defender of liberty, who had very much contributed to the restoring it at Athens, by expelling the Pisistratides out of that city. ✕ It was an excellent custom, among the antients, and which it were to be wished might prevail amongst us, that the young men, who were ambitious of publick employments, particularly † attached themselves to such aged and experienced men, as had distinguished themselves most eminently therein; and who, both by their conversation and example, could teach

Plat. in
Arist. p.
319, 320.
& in
Them. p.
112, 113.
An seni
sit ger.
Resp. p.
790, 791.

* After the death of Miltiades, this princess had by a second husband a son, who was called Olorus, after the name of his grandfather, and who was the father of Thucydides the historian. Herod. ibid.
† Discere a peritis, sequi optimos. Tacit. in Agric.

DARIUS. them the art of conducting themselves, and governing others with wisdom and discretion. Thus, says Plutarch, did Aristides attach himself to Clisthenes, Cimon to Aristides; and he mentions several others, among the rest Polybius, of whom we have spoken pretty often, and who in his youth was the constant disciple, and faithful imitator of the celebrated Philopoemen.

Themistocles and Aristides were of very different dispositions; but they both rendered great services to the commonwealth. Themistocles, who naturally leaned to a popular government, omitted nothing, that could contribute to render him agreeable to the people, and to gain him friends, behaving himself with great affability and complaisance to every body, always ready to do service to the citizens, every one of which he knew by name; nor was he very nice, about the means he used to oblige them. Some body talking with him once on this subject, told him, he would make an excellent magistrate, if his behaviour towards the citizens was more equal, and if he had no bias to favour one more than another: *God forbid*, replied Themistocles, *I should ever sit upon a tribunal, where my friends should find no more credit or favour, than strangers*. Cleon, who appeared some time after, at Athens, observed a quite different conduct, but yet such, as was not wholly exempt from blame. When he came into the management of publick affairs, he assembled all his friends, and declared to them, that from that moment he renounced their friendship, lest it should prove an obstacle to him in the discharge of his duty, and cause him to act with partiality and injustice. This was doing them very little honour, and judging hardly of their integrity. But, as Plutarch says, it was not his friends, but his passions, that he ought to have renounced.

Aristides had the discretion to observe a just medium between these two vicious extremes. Being a
favourer

Cic. de
Senec.
Plut. An
seni sit ger.
Resp. p.
806, 807.

favourer of Aristocracy in imitation of Lycurgus, DARIUS. whose great admirer he was, he walked, as it were, by himself: not endeavouring to oblige his friends at the expence of justice, and yet always ready to do them service, when it was consistent with it. He carefully avoided making use of his friends recommendations for obtaining employments, for fear it should be a dangerous obligation upon him, as well as a plausible pretext for them, to require the same favour from him on the like occasion. ~~X~~He used to say, that the true citizen, or the honest man, ought to make no other use of his credit and power, than to practise himself upon all occasions, and to engage others to practise, what was just and honest. ~~+~~

Considering this contrariety of principles and humours among these great men, we are not to wonder, if, during the time of their administration, there was a continual opposition between them. Themistocles, who was bold and enterprising, in almost all his attempts, was still sure to meet Aristides in his way, who thought himself obliged to thwart the other's designs, even sometimes when they were just and beneficial to the publick, lest he should get too great an ascendant, and authority, which might become pernicious to the commonwealth. One day, having got the better of Themistocles, who had made some proposal, really advantageous to the state, he could not contain himself, but cryed out aloud, as he went out of the assembly, *That the Athenians would never prosper, till they threw them both into the Barathrum*: the Barathrum was a pit, into which were thrown the malefactors, that were condemned to die. But notwithstanding this mutual opposition, when the common interest was at stake, they were no longer enemies: and whenever they were going to take the field, or engage in any expedition, they agreed together to lay aside all their dissensions on leaving the city, and to be at liberty to resume them on their return, if they thought fit.

Plut.
Apoph-
thegm.
p. 186.

The

DARIUS.

The predominant passion of Themistocles was ambition and the love of glory, which discovered it self in him from his childhood: After the battle of Marathon, which we shall speak of presently, when the people were every where extolling the valour and conduct of Miltiades, who had won it, Themistocles never appeared but in a very thoughtful and melancholy humour: he spent whole nights without sleep, and was never seen at publick feasts and entertainments, as he used to be. And when his friends, astonished at this change, asked him the reason of it, he made answer, that Miltiades's trophies would not let him sleep. These were as so many stings in his mind, which never ceased to spur and animate his ambition. From this time Themistocles addicted himself wholly to arms; and the love of martial glory became his prevailing passion.

As for Aristides, the love of the publick good was the great spring of all his actions. What he was most particularly admired for, was his constancy and steadiness under the unforeseen changes, to which those, who have the administration of affairs, are exposed; for he was neither elevated with the honours, conferred upon him; nor cast down at the contempt and disappointments he sometimes met with. On all occasions, he preserved his usual calmness and temper; being persuaded, that a man ought to give himself up entirely to his country, and to serve it with a perfect disinterestedness, as well with regard to glory, as to riches. The general esteem, he was in, for the uprightness of his intentions, the purity of his zeal for the interests of the state, and the sincerity of his virtue, appeared one day at the theatre, when one of Æschylus's plays was acting. For when the actor had recited that verse, which describes the character of Amphiarus, *He does not desire to appear to be an honest and virtuous man, but really to be so*, the whole audience turned
their

their eyes upon Aristides, and applied the character DARIUS. to him.

Another thing, related of him, with relation to a publick employment he discharged, is very remarkable. He was no sooner made treasurer general of the republick, but he made it appear, that his predecessors in that office, had cheated the state of vast sums of money; and among the rest Themistocles in particular: for this great man, with all his merit, was not free from corruption. For which reason, when Aristides came to pass his accounts, Themistocles raised a mighty faction against him, accused him of having robbed the publick treasure, and prevailed so far, as to have him condemned and fined. But the principal inhabitants, and the most virtuous part of the citizens, rising up against so unjust a sentence, not only the judgment was reversed and the fine remitted, but he was likewise elected treasurer again for the year ensuing. He then seemed to repent of his former administration; and by shewing himself more tractable and indulgent towards others, he found out the secret of pleasing all that pillaged the commonwealth. For, as he neither reprov'd them, nor narrowly inspected their accompts; all those plunderers, grown fat with spoil and rapine, now extolled Aristides to the skies. It would have been easy for him, as we perceive, to have enriched himself in a post of that nature, which seems, as it were, to invite a man to it by the many favourable opportunities it lays in his way; especially as he had to do with officers, who for their part were intent upon nothing but plunder, and would have been ready to conceal the frauds of the treasurer their master, upon condition he did them the same favour.

These very officers now made interest with the people to have him continued a third year in the same office. But, when the time of election was come, just as they were agreeing to the nomination of Aristides, he rose up, and warmly reprimanded
the

DARIUS. the Athenian people. “ What, says he! when I
 “ managed your treasure with all the fidelity and di-
 “ ligence an honest man is capable of, I met with
 “ the most cruel treatment, and the most mortifying
 “ returns; and now that I have abandoned it to the
 “ mercy of all these publick plunderers, I am an ad-
 “ mirable man, and a most worthy citizen! I can-
 “ not help declaring to you, that I am more asha-
 “ med of the honour you do me this day, than I
 “ was of the condemnation you pronounced against
 “ me this time twelve month: and with grief I
 “ find, that it is more glorious at Athens to be
 “ complaisant to knaves, than to save the publick
 “ treasure.” By this declaration he silenced all the
 publick plunderers, and gained the esteem of all
 good men.

Such were the characters of these two illustrious
 Athenians, who began to exert their extensive me-
 rit, when Darius turned his arms against Greece.

II. *Darius sends heralds into Greece in order to found
 the people, and to require them to submit.*

Her. 1. 6. Before this prince would directly engage in this
 c. 49, & enterprize, he judged it expedient, first of all to
 86. found the Grecians, and to learn how those different
 nations stood affected towards him. With this view,
 he sent heralds into all the several parts of Greece,
 to require earth and water in his name: this was the
 form used by the Persians when they exacted
 submission from any nation, they desired to bring
 under their subjection. On the arrival of these he-
 ralds, many of the Grecian cities dreading the pow-
 er of the Persians, comply'd with their demands: as
 did also the inhabitants of Ægina, a little isle, over
 against, and not far from, Athens. This proceed-
 ing of the Æginians was looked upon as a publick
 treason. The Athenians represented the matter to
 the Spartans, who immediately sent Cleomenes, one
 of

of their kings, to apprehend the authors of that dis-loyalty. The people of Ægina refused to give them up, under pretence, that he came without his colleague. This colleague, was Demaratus; who had himself suggested that excuse to the Æginians. As soon as Cleomenes was returned to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus for that affront, he endeavoured to get him deposed, as not being of the royal family: and he succeeded in his attempt through the assistance of the priestess of Delphos, whom he had suborned to give an answer, favourable to his designs. Demaratus, not being able to endure so ignominious an affront, banished himself from his country, and retired to Darius, who received him with open arms, and gave him a considerable settlement in Persia. He was succeeded in the throne by Leutychides, who joined his colleague and went along with him to Ægina, from whence they brought away ten of the principal inhabitants, and committed them to the custody of the Athenians, their declared enemies. Cleomenes dying not long after, and the fraud he had committed at Delphos being discovered, the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to oblige the people of Athens to set their Æginian prisoners at liberty; but they refused.

The Persian heralds, that went to Sparta and Athens, were not so favourably received, as those, that had been sent to the other cities. One of them was thrown into a well, and the other into a deep ditch, and were bid to take there earth and water. I should be less surprized at this unworthy treatment, if Athens alone had been concerned in it. It was a proceeding suitable enough to a popular government, which is, rash, impetuous, and violent; where reason is seldom hearkened to, and every thing determined by passion. But I do not find any thing in this agreeable to the Spartan equity and gravity. They were at liberty to refuse what was demanded: but to treat publick officers in such a manner, was an open violation

DARIUS. violation of the law of nations. If what the historians say on this head be true, the crime did not remain unpunished. Talthybius, one of Agamemnon's heralds, was honoured at Sparta, as a God, and had a temple there. He revenged the indignities done to the heralds of the king of Persia, and made the Spartans feel the effects of his wrath, by bringing many terrible accidents upon them. In order to appease him, and to expiate their offence, they sent afterwards several of their chief citizens into Persia, who voluntarily offered themselves as victims for their country. They were delivered into the hands of Xerxes; who would not let them suffer, but sent them back to their own country. As for the Athenians, Talthybius executed his vengeance on the family of Miltiades, who was principally concerned in the outrage, committed upon Darius's heralds.

III. *The Persians defeated at Marathon by Miltiades.*

A. M. Darius sent away, in all haste, Datis and Artaphernes, whom he had appointed generals in the room of Mardonius. Their instructions were, to give up Eretria and Athens to be plundered, to burn all the houses and temples therein, to make all the inhabitants of both places prisoners, and to send them to Darius; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. They set sail with a fleet of five or six hundred ships, and an army of five hundred thousand men. After having made themselves masters of the isles in the Ægean sea, which they did without difficulty, they turned their course towards Eretria, a town in Euboea, which they took after a siege of seven days by the treachery of some of the principal inhabitants: they reduced the whole town to ashes, put all the people, they found therein in chains, and sent them to Persia. Darius, contrary to their expectation, treated them kindly, and gave them a village, in the country of

Ibid. c.
135, &
136.
Pauf. in
Lacon.
p. 182, &
183.

A. M.
3514-
Ant. J. C.
490.

Plut. in
Moral.
p. 829.

Her. 1. 6.
c. 29.

of Cissia, to dwell in, which was but a day's journey from Susa, where Apollonius Tyaneus found some of their descendants six hundred years afterwards.

DARIUS.
Philostr.
l. 1. c. 17.

After this success at Eretria, the Persians advanced towards Attica, Hippias conducted them to Marathon, a little town by the sea side. They took care to acquaint the Athenians with the fate of Eretria; and to let them know, that not an inhabitant of that place had escaped their vengeance, in hopes, that this news would induce them to surrender immediately. The Athenians had sent to Lacedæmon, to desire succours against the common enemy, which the Spartans granted them instantly and without deliberation; but which could not set out till some days after, on account of an antient custom and a superstitious maxim amongst them, which did not allow them to begin a march before the full of the moon. Not one of their other allies prepared to succour them, so great terror had the formidable army of the Persians spread on every side. The inhabitants of Platæa alone furnished them with a thousand soldiers. In this extremity the Athenians were obliged to put their slaves in arms, which had never been done there before this occasion.

Her. 1. 6.
c. 102,
& 120.
Cor. Nep.
in Milt.
c. 4—6.
Justin.
l. 2. c. 3.
Plut. in
Aristid.
p. 321.

The Persian army commanded by Datis consisted of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. That of the Athenians amounted in all but to ten thousand men. This was led by ten generals, of whom Miltiades was the chief; and these ten were to have the command of the whole army, each for a day, one after another. There was a great dispute among these officers, whether they should risk an engagement in the field, or wait for the enemy's coming into the town. The latter opinion prevailed with great odds, and appeared very reasonable. For, what appearance of success could there be in going out with an handful of soldiers, to meet so numerous and formidable an army as that of the Persians? Miltiades however declared

ARIUS.

for the contrary opinion, and showed, that the only way to raise the courage of their own troops, and to strike a terror into those of the enemy, was to advance boldly towards them with an air of confidence and intrepidity. Aristides strenuously defended this opinion, and brought over to it, some of the other commanders, so that, when the suffrages came to be taken, they were equally divided. Hereupon Miltiades addressed himself to Callimachus, who was then * Polemarchus, and had a right of voting as well as the ten commanders. He very warmly represented to him, that the fate of their country was then in his hands, that his single vote was to determine, whether Athens should preserve her liberty, or fall into slavery, and that he had it in his power by one word to become as famous, as Harmodius and Aristogiton, the prime authors of that liberty, which the Athenians enjoyed. This word Callimachus pronounced in favour of Miltiades's opinion. And accordingly a battle was resolved upon.

Aristides, reflecting, that a command, which changes every day, must necessarily be feeble, unequal, not of a piece, often contrary to itself, and incapable either of projecting, or executing any designs with regularity, was of opinion, that their danger, was both too great and too pressing for them to expose their affairs to such inconveniences. In order to prevent them, he judged it necessary to vest the whole power in one single person: and that he might prevail with his colleagues, he himself gave the first example of resignation. When the day came, on which it was his turn to command, he resigned his privilege to Miltiades, as to a more able and experienced commander than himself. The other generals

* *The Polemarchus at Athens was both an officer and a considerable magistrate, equally employed to command in the army, and to administer justice. I shall give a larger account of this office in another place.*

did the same, all sentiments of jealousy giving way ^{DARIUS.} to the love of the publick good : and by this day's behaviour we may learn, that it is almost as glorious to acknowledge merit in other persons, as to have it one's self. Miltiades however thought fit to wait till his own day came. Then, like an able captain, he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground to gain what he wanted in strength and number. He ranged his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy should not be able either to surround them, or to come behind them. On the two sides of his army he caused large trees to be thrown, which were cut down on purpose, in order to cover his flanks, and render the Persian cavalry useless. Datis, their commander, was very sensible, that the place was not favourable for him : but, relying upon the number of his troops, which was beyond all comparison superior to that of the Athenians, and on the other hand not being willing to stay, till a reinforcement of the Spartans came up, he determined to engage. The Athenians did not wait for their coming to attack them. As soon as the signal for the battle was given, they ran against the enemy with all the fury imaginable. The Persians looked upon this first step of the Athenians as a piece of madness, considering their army was so small, and utterly destitute both of cavalry and archers : but they were quickly undeceived. Herodotus observes, that this was the first time the Grecians began an engagement by running in this manner : which may seem somewhat astonishing. In truth, was there not reason to apprehend, that their running would in some measure weaken the troops, and blunt the edge of their first impetuosity ; and that the soldiers, having their ranks broken, might be out of breath, spent, and in disorder, when they came to the enemy, who, waiting to receive them, in a steady posture and without stirring, ought, one would think, to be in a condition to sustain their onset advantageously ? This consideration engaged ^{Cæs. in bell. civil.}

DARIUS.

Plut. in
Pomp.
p. 656.
& in Cæf.
p. 729.

Pompey, at the battle of Pharsalia, to keep his troops in a steady posture, and to forbid them making any motion, till the enemy made the first attack: but * Cæsar blames Pompey's conduct in this particular, and gives this reason for it: that the impetuosity of an army's motion in running to engage inspires the soldiers souls with a certain enthusiasm and martial fury, that it gives an additional force to their blows, and that it encreases and enflames their courage, which by the rapid motion of so many thousand men together is blown up and animated, if I may so speak, as a flame of fire is by wind or air. I leave it to the gentlemen of that profession to decide the point between those two great commanders, and return to my subject.

The battle was very fierce and obstinate. Miliades had made the wings of his army exceeding strong, but had left the main body more weak and less thick; the reason of which seems pretty manifest. Having but ten thousand men to set in opposition to such a numerous and vast army, it was impossible for him either to make a large front, or to give an equal depth to his battalions. He was obliged therefore to take his choice: and he imagined, that he could no otherwise gain the victory, than by the efforts he should make with his two wings in order to break through and rout the wings of the Persians: not doubting, but, when his wings were once victorious, they would be able to attack the enemy's main body in flank, and compleat the victory, without much difficulty. This was the

* Quod nobis quidem nulla ratione factum à Pompeio videtur: propterea quod est quædam incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus quæ studio pugnae incenditur. Hanc non reprimere, sed auge e imperatores debent. Cæf.

Καῖσαρ περὶ τὴν διαμαρτίαν τοῦ Πομπηίου, ἀγνοῶντα, τὴν μετὰ δόξαν καὶ φοβερὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ γνωμὴν συρράξεν, ὡς ἔντε τὰς πλεοναὶς βίαι προσιδῆσι, καὶ συνικαίει τὸν δόμον ἐν παντὶ ἀναρριπίζοντων. Plut. in Cæf.

same plan, as Hannibal followed afterwards at the battle of Cannæ, which succeeded so well with him, and which indeed can scarce ever fail of succeeding. The Persians then attacked the main body of the Grecian army, and made their greatest efforts particularly upon their front. This was led by Aristides and Themistocles, who supported it a long time with an intrepid courage and bravery, but were at length obliged to give ground. At that very instant came up their two victorious Wings, which had defeated those of the enemy, and put them to flight. Nothing could be more seasonable for the body of the Grecian army, which began to be broken, being quite oppressed with the number of the Persians. The Scale was quickly turned, and the Barbarians were entirely routed. They all betook themselves to their heels and fled, not towards their camp, but to their ships, that they might make their escape. The Athenians pursued them thither, and set many of their vessels on fire. On this occasion it was that Cynægirus, one of the Athenian soldiers, who had taken hold of a vessel, in order to get into it with the runaways, having first had his right hand and then his left cut off with a hatchet, would not still let go, but took hold with his teeth, so eager was he against the enemy. The Athenians took seven of their ships. They had not above two hundred men killed on their side in this engagement, whereas on the side of the Persians there were slain above six thousand, without reckoning those, who fell into the sea, as they endeavoured to escape, or those, that were consumed with the ships set on fire.

Hippias was killed in the battle. That ungrateful and perfidious citizen, in order to recover the unjust dominion, usurped by his father, Pisistratus, over the Athenians, had the baseness to become a servile courtier to a barbarian prince, and to implore his succour against his native country. Being pushed on by hatred and revenge, he suggested all the ways

DARIUS. he could invent to bring his fellow-citizens into fetters; and even put himself at the head of their enemies with a design to reduce that city to ashes, to which he owed his birth, and against which he had no other ground of complaint, than that she would not acknowledge him for her tyrant. An ignominious death, together with an everlasting infamy entailed upon his name, was the just recompence of so black a treachery.

Plut.de
glor.
Athen.
p. 347.

Immediately after the battle, an Athenian soldier, still reeking in the blood of the enemy, disengaged himself from the army and ran with all his might to Athens to carry to his fellow-citizens the happy news of the victory. When he arrived at the magistrates house, he only uttered two or three words, * *rejoice, rejoice, the victory is ours,* and fell down dead at their feet.

Paul. 1. 1.
p. 62.

The Persians had thought themselves so sure of victory, that they had brought marble to Marathon, in order to erect a trophy there. The Grecians took this marble, and caused a statue to be made of it by Phidias, in honour of the goddess * Nemesis, who had a temple near the place, where the battle was fought.

The Persian fleet, instead of sailing by the islands, in order to re-enter Asia, doubled the cape of Sunium, with the design of surprizing Athens, before the Athenian forces should arrive there to defend the city. But the latter had the precaution to march thither with nine tribes to secure their country, and performed their march with so much expedition, that they arrived there the same day. The distance from Marathon to Athens is about forty miles, or fifteen French leagues. This was a great deal for an army, that had just undergone a long and fierce

* *Xaίματα, Χαίριδος.* I could. † *This was the goddess, whose*
not render the liveliness of the business it was to punish injustice
Greek expression in our language. and wrong.

engagement. By this means the design of their DARIUS. enemies miscarried.

Aristides, the only general that stayed at Marathon with his tribe, to take care of the spoil and prisoners, acted suitably to the good opinion, that was entertained of him. For, though gold and silver were scattered about in abundance through the enemy's camp, and though all the tents, as well as galleys, that were taken, were full of rich cloaths and costly furniture, and treasure of all kinds to an immense value, he not only was not tempted to touch any of it himself, but hindred every body else from touching it.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the Lacedæmonians began their march with two thousand men; and, having travelled with all imaginable expedition, arrived in Attica after three days hard marching: now the length of the way from Sparta to Attica was no less than twelve hundred stadia, or one hundred and fifty English miles. The battle was fought the day before they arrived: however they proceeded to Marathon, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies and with riches. After having congratulated the Athenians on the happy success of the battle, they returned to their own country.

They were hindred by a foolish and ridiculous superstition from having a share in the most glorious action recorded in history. For it is almost a thing unheard of, that such a little handful of men, as the Athenians were, should not only make head against so numerous an army, as that of the Persians, but should entirely rout and defeat them. One is astonished to see so formidable a power attack so small a city and miscarry; and we are almost tempted to disbelieve the truth of an event, that appears so improbable, and which nevertheless is very certain and unquestionable. This battle alone shows, what wonderful things may be performed by an able general,

Isocr. in
Panegy.
P. 113.

DARIUS. neral, who knows how to take his advantages ; by the intrepidity of soldiers, that are not afraid of death ; by a zeal for one's country ; the love of liberty ; an hatred and detestation of slavery and tyranny ; which were sentiments natural to the Athenians, but undoubtedly very much augmented and enflamed in them by the very presence of Hippias, whom they dreaded to have again for their master, after all that had passed between them.

In Menex.

p. 239,

240.

Et lib. 3.

de leg. p.

698, &

699.

Plato, in more places than one, makes it his business to extoll the battle of Marathon, and endeavours to make that action be looked upon as the source and original cause of all the victories, that were gained afterwards. Doubtless it was this victory, that deprived the Persian power of that terror, which had rendered them so formidable, and made every thing stoop before them : it was this victory that taught the Grecians to know their own strength, and not to tremble before an enemy, who had nothing terrible but the name ; that made them find by experience, that victory does not depend so much upon the number, as the courage of troops ; that set before their eyes, in a most conspicuous light, the glory there is in sacrificing one's life, in the defence of our country, and for the preservation of liberty ; and lastly, that inspired them, thro' the whole course of succeeding ages, with a noble emulation and warm ambition to imitate their ancestors, and not to degenerate from their valour. For, on all important occasions, it was customary among them to put the people in mind of Miltiades and his invincible troop, that is, of a little army of Heroes, whose intrepidity and bravery had done so much honour to Athens.

Pauf. in
Attic. p.
60, 61.

Those that were slain in the battle, had all the honour immediately paid to them, that was due to their merit. Illustrious monuments were erected to them all, in the very place where the battle was fought ; upon which their own names, and that of
the

the tribe, to which they respectively belonged, were **DARIUS**: recorded. There were three distinct sets of monuments separately set up, one for the Athenians, another for the Platæans, and a third for the slaves, whom they had admitted among their soldiers on that occasion. Miltiades's tomb was erected afterwards in the same place.

The reflection, Cornelius Nepos makes upon what the Athenians did to honour the memory of their general, deserves to be taken notice of. Formerly, says he, speaking of the Romans, our ancestors rewarded virtue by marks of distinction, that were not stately or magnificent, but such as were rarely granted, and for that very reason were highly esteemed; whereas now that they are so common, they are held in no esteem. The same thing happened, adds he, among the Athenians. All the honour that was paid to Miltiades, the great deliverer of Athens and of all Greece, was that in a picture of the battle of Marathon, drawn by order of the Athenians, he was represented at the head of the ten commanders, exhorting the soldiers, and setting them an example of their duty. But this same people in later ages, being grown more powerful, and corrupted by the flatteries of their orators, decreed three hundred statues to Demetrius Phalereus.

Plutarch makes the same reflection, and wisely observes, that the * honour, which is paid to great men, ought not to be looked upon as the reward of their illustrious actions, but only as a mark of the esteem of them, whereof such monuments are intended to perpetuate the memory. It is not then the stateliness or magnificence of publick monuments, which gives them their value, or makes them durable, but the sincere gratitude of those, that erect them. The three hundred statues of Demetrius

Cor. Nep.
in Milt.
c. 6.

In præc.
de rep. ger.
P. 820.

* Οὐ γὰρ μισθὸν εἶναι δι' τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ συμβόλαιον τοῦ τιμῆς
ἵνα καὶ διαμένῃ πολὺν χρόνον.

DARTUS. Phalereus were all broken down even in his own life time, but the picture, in which Miltiades's courage was represented, was preserved many ages after him.

Plin. l. 35. This picture was kept at Athens in a gallery,
c. 9. adorned and enriched with different paintings, all excellent in their kind, and done by the greatest masters; which for that reason was called, *μικτή*, signifying varied and diversified. The celebrated Polygnotus, a native of the isle of Thasos, and one of the finest painters of his time, painted this picture, or at least the greatest part of it; and, as he valued himself upon his honour, and was more attached to glory than interest, he drew it *gratis*, and would not receive any recompence for it. The city of Athens therefore rewarded him with a sort of coin, that was more acceptable to his taste, by procuring an order from the Amphyctyons to appoint him a publick lodging in the city, where he might live, as much as he pleased.

Her. l. 6. The gratitude of the Athenians towards Miltiades
c. 132, was of no very long duration. After the battle of
& 136. Marathon, he desired and obtained the command of
Cor. Nep. a fleet of seventy ships, in order to punish and sub-
in Milt. due the islands, that had favoured the Barbarians.
c. 7, & 8. Accordingly he reduced several of them: but having had ill success in the isle of Paros, and upon a false report of the arrival of the enemy's fleet, having raised the siege which he had laid to the capital city of the island, wherein he had received a very dangerous wound, he returned to Athens with his fleet; and was there impeached by a citizen, called Xanthippus, who accused him of having raised the siege through treachery, and in consideration of a great sum of money given him by the king of Persia. As little probability as there was in this accusation, it nevertheless prevailed against the merit and innocence of Miltiades. He was condemned to lose his life, and to be thrown into the Barathrum, the place, into which their greatest criminals and malefactors

Plut. in
Gorg. P.
516.

were condemned to be cast. The magistrate opposed the execution of so unjust a sentence: And all the favour, that was shewn to this deliverer of his country, was to have the sentence of death commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, or fifty thousand crowns french money, being the sum to which the expences of the fleet, that had been equipped upon his sollicitation and advice, amounted. Not being rich enough to pay this sum, he was put into prison, and there dyed of the wound he had received in Paros. Cimon, his son, who was at this time very young, signalized his piety on this occasion, as we shall find in the sequel he did his courage afterwards. He purchased the permission of burying his father's body, by paying the fine of fifty thousand crowns, in which he had been condemned; which sum the young man raised, as well as he could, by the assistance of his friends and relations.

Cornelius Nepos observes, that what chiefly induced the Athenians to act in this manner with regard to Miltiades, was no other than his merit itself and his great reputation, which made the people, that were but lately delivered from the yolk of slavery under Pisistratus, apprehend, that Miltiades, who had been tyrant before in the Chersonesus, might desire to be the same at Athens. * Therefore they chose rather to punish an innocent person, than to have such a perpetual occasion of fear before them. To this same principle, was the institution of the Ostracism at Athens owing. I have elsewhere given an account of the most plausible reasons, upon which the Ostracism could be founded. But I do not see, how we can fully justify so strange a policy, to which all merit becomes suspected, and virtue itself appears criminal. O happy republick, cries out

Man.
d'étud.
tom. 3.
p. 407.

Val. Max.
l. 5. c. 3.

* *Hæc populus respiciens maluit eum innocentem plecti, quam se diutius esse in timore.*

Valerius

DARIUS. Valerius Maximus, speaking of Aristides's banishment, which after having so basely treated the most virtuous man, that ever belonged to it, has still been able to find any citizens zealously and faithfully attached to her service! *Felices Athenas, quæ post illius exilium invenire aliquem aut virum bonum, aut amantem sui civem potuerunt; cum quo tunc ipsa sanctitas migravit.*

S E C T. VIII.

Darius thinks of making war in person against Egypt and against Greece: is prevented by death. Dispute between two of his sons, concerning the succession to the crown. Xerxes is chosen king.

Her. 1. 7. **W**HEN Darius received the news of the defeat
c. 1. of his army at Marathon, he fell into a violent passion: and that bad success was so far from discouraging, or diverting him, from carrying on the war against Greece, that it only served to spur him on to pursue it with the greater vigour, in order to be revenged at the same time for the burning of Sardis, and for the dishonour incurred at Marathon. Being thus determined to march in person with all his forces, he issued out his orders to all his subjects in the several provinces of his empire to arm themselves for this expedition.

After having spent three years in making the necessary preparations, he had another war to carry on occasioned by the revolt of Egypt. It seems to appear by what we read in Diodorus Siculus, that Darius went thither himself to quell it, and that he succeeded. That Historian relates, that upon this prince's desiring to have his statue placed before that of Sesostris, the chief priest of the Egyptians told him, *he had not yet equalled the glory of that conqueror*; and that the king, without being offended at the Egyptian priest's freedom, made answer, that he would endeavour

Lib. 1. p.
54, & 85.

leavours to surpass it. Diodorus adds farther, that **DARIUS**. Darius, detesting the impious cruelty, which his predecessor Cambyfes had exercised in that country, shewed great reverence for their gods and their temples; that he had several conversations with the Egyptian priests upon matters of religion and government; and that having learnt of them, with what gentleness their antient kings used to treat their subjects, he endeavoured after his return into Persia, to form himself upon their model. But Herodotus, Lib. 6. c. 2. more worthy of belief in this particular than Diodorus, only observes, that this prince, resolved at once to chastise his revolted subjects, and to be avenged of his antient enemies, determined to make war against both at the same time, and to attack Greece in person with the bulk of his army, whilst the rest of it was employed in the reduction of Egypt.

According to an antient custom among the Persians, Ibid. c. 2, & 3. their king was not allowed, to go to war, without having first named the person, that should succeed him in the throne; a custom wisely established, to prevent the state's being exposed to the troubles, which generally attend an unsettled succession; to the inconveniences of anarchy, and to the cabals of various pretenders. Darius before he undertook his expedition against Greece, thought himself the more obliged to observe this rule, as he was already advanced in years, and as there was a difference between two of his sons, upon the point of succeeding to the empire; which difference might occasion a civil war after his death, if he left it undetermined. Darius had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of Gobrias, all three born before their father came to the crown; and four more by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who were all born after their father's accession to the throne. Artabazanes, called by Justin Artamenes, was the eldest of the former; and Xerxes of the latter. Artabazanes alledged in his own behalf,

DARIUS. half, that, as he was the eldest of all the brothers, the right of succession, according to the custom and practice of all nations, belonged to him preferably to any other. Xerxes's argument was, that as he was the son of Darius by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who founded the Persian empire, it was more just, that the crown of Cyrus should devolve upon one of his descendants, than upon one, that was not. Demaratus, a Spartan king, unjustly deposed by his subjects, and at this time in exile at the court of Persia, secretly suggested to Xerxes another argument to support his pretensions: that Artabazanes was indeed the eldest son of Darius, but he, Xerxes, was the eldest son of the king; and therefore, Artabazanes being born, when his father was but a private person, all, he could pretend to, on account of his seniority, was only to inherit his private estate; but that he, Xerxes, being the first born son of the king, had the best right to succeed to the crown. He further supported this argument by the example of the Lacedæmonians, who admitted none to inherit the kingdom, but those children, that were born after their father's accession. The right of succeeding was accordingly determined in favour of Xerxes.

Jus. l. 2.
c. 10.
Plut. de
frat. amo.
p. 44⁸.

* Justin, and Plutarch, place this dispute after Darius's decease. They both take notice of the prudent conduct of these two brothers on so nice an occasion. According to their manner of relating this fact, Artabazanes was absent, when the king died; and Xerxes immediately put on all badges of royalty; and exercised the functions belonging to the regal office. But upon his brother's returning home,

* Adeò fraterna contentio fuit, ut nec victor insultaverit, nec victus doluerit; ipsoque litis tempore invicem munera miserint; jucunda quoque inter se non solum, sed credula convivia

habuerint: judicium quoque ipsum sine arbitris sine convitio fuerit. Tanto moderatius tum fratres inter se regna maxima dividebant, quam nunc exigua patrimonia partiuntur. *Justin.*

he quitted the diadem and the tiara, which he wore DARIUS. in such a manner, as was only fit for a king to do, went out to meet him, and shewed him all imaginable civility. They agreed to make their uncle Artabanes the arbitrator of their difference, and without any further appeal, to acquiesce in his decision. All the while this dispute lasted, the two brothers shewed one another all the demonstrations of a truly fraternal friendship, by keeping up a continual intercourse of presents and entertainments, from whence their mutual esteem and confidence, for each other, banished all fears and suspicions on both sides; and introduced an unconstrained cheerfulness, and a full and perfect security. This is a spectacle, says Justin, highly worthy of our admiration: to see, whilst most brothers are at daggers-drawing with one another in disputing a small patrimony, with what moderation and temper these two waited for a decision, which was to dispose of the greatest empire, then in the universe. When Artabanes gave judgment in favour of Xerxes, Artabazanes the same instant prostrated himself before him, acknowledging him for his master, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand; by which proceeding he shewed a greatness of soul, truly royal, and infinitely superior to all human dignities. This ready acquiescing in a sentence, so contrary to his interests, was not the effect of an artful policy, that knows how to dissemble upon occasion, and to draw honour to itself from an accident, it could not prevent. No: it proceeded from a real respect for the laws, a sincere affection for his brother, and an indifference for that, which so warmly inflames the ambition of mortals, and so frequently sets the nearest relations at war with one another. For his part, he all his life continued firmly attached to the interests of Xerxes, and prosecuted them with so much ardour and zeal, that he lost his life in his service at the battle of Salamis.

At what time soever this dispute ought to be Her. 1 6.
placed, c. 4.

DARIUS.

placed, it is evident Darius could not execute the double expedition he was meditating, the one against Egypt, and the other against Greece; and that he was prevented by death from pursuing that project. The length of his reign was thirty six years.

This prince had many excellent qualities, but which were accompanied with great failings; and the kingdom felt the effects both of the one and the other. * For such is the condition of princes: they neither act, nor live for themselves alone. Whatever they are, either as to good, or evil, they are for their people: and the interests of the one and the other are inseparable. Darius had a great fund of gentleness, equity, clemency, and kindness for his people: he loved justice, and respected the laws: he esteemed merit, and was careful to reward it: he was not jealous of his rank or authority, so as to exact a forced homage, or to render himself inaccessible; and notwithstanding his own great experience and abilities in business, he would hearken to the advice of others, and reap the benefit of their counsels. It is of him the holy scripture speaks, where it says, that he did nothing without consulting the wise men of his court. He was not afraid of exposing his person in battle, and was always cool even in the heat of action: he said of himself, that the most imminent and pressing danger served only to increase his courage and his prudence: in a word, there have been few princes more expert than he, in the art of governing, or more experienced in the business of war. Nor was the glory of being a conqueror, if that may be called a glory, wanting to his character. For he not only restored and entirely secured the empire of Cyrus, which had been very much shaken by the ill conduct of Cambyſes and the Magian impostor, but he likewise added many great and rich

Esth. i.
13.

Plut. in
Apoph.
p. 172.

* Ita nati estis, ut bona malaque vestra ad remp. pertineant.
Tacit. l. 4. cap. 8.

provinces to it, and particularly India, Thrace, Macedonia, and the isles that lye contiguous to the coasts of Ionia.

But sometimes these good qualities of his gave way to failings, of a quite opposite nature. Do we see any thing like Darius's usual gentleness and good nature in his treatment of that unfortunate father, who desired the favour of him to leave him one of his three sons at home, while the other two followed the king in his expedition? Was there ever an occasion, wherein he had more need of counsel, than when he formed the design of making war upon the Scythians? And could any one give more prudent advice, than what his brother gave him on that occasion? But he would not follow it. Does there appear in that whole expedition any mark of wisdom, or prudence? What do we see in all that affair, but a prince, intoxicated with his greatness, who fancies, there is nothing in the world, that can resist him; and whose foolish ambition to signalize himself by an extraordinary conquest, has stifled all the good sense, judgment, and even military knowledge, he was possesst of before?

What makes the solid glory of Darius's reign is, his being chosen by God himself, as Cyrus had been before, to be the instrument of his mercies towards his people, the declared protector of the Israelites, and the restorer of the temple at Jerusalem. An account of which is to be seen in the book of Ezra, and in the writings of the prophets Haggai, and Zachariah.

CHAPTER II.

The history of Xerxes, and that of the Grecians joined together.

XERXES. **X**ERXES his reign lasted but twelve years, but is full of great events.

S E C T. I.

Xerxes, after having reduced Egypt, makes preparations for carrying the war against the Grecians. He holds a council. The wise discourse of Artabanes. War is resolved upon.

A. M. 3519. **X**ERXES, having ascended the throne, employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations, begun by his father for the reduction of Egypt. He likewise confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges, granted them by his father, and particularly that, which assigned them the tribute of Samaria, for the supplying of them with victims for the temple-worship.

Ant. J. C. 485. Her. l. 7. c. 5. Joseph. Antiq. l. 11. c. 5. Her. l. 7. c. 7. In the second year of his reign he marched against the Egyptians, and having reduced and subdued those rebels, he aggravated the yoke of their subjection; then giving the government of that province to his brother Achemenes, he returned about the latter end of the year to Susa.

A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484. Aul. Gel. Her. l. 7. Herodotus the famous historian, was born this same year at Hallicarnassus in Caria. For he was fifty three years old, when the Peloponnesian war first began.

Ib. 15. c. 23. Her. l. 7. Xerxes, puffed up with his success against the Egyptians, determined to make war against the Grecians.

Grecians. (He did not intend, he said, to buy any longer figs of Attica, which were very excellent ; because he would eat no more of them, till he was master of the country.) But before he engaged in an enterprize of that importance, he thought proper to assemble his council, and take the advice of all the greatest and most illustrious persons of his court. When they were met, he laid before them the design he had of making war against Greece ; and acquainted them with his motives ; which were, the desire of imitating the examples of his predecessors, who had all of them distinguished their names and their reigns by noble enterprizes ; the obligation he was under to revenge the insolence of the Athenians, who had presumed to fall upon Sardis, and reduced it to ashes ; the necessity he was under, to wipe off the dishonour his country had received at the battle of Marathon ; and the prospect of the great advantages that might be reaped from this war, which would be attended with the conquest of Europe, the most rich and fertile country in the universe. He added farther, that this war had been resolved on by his father Darius, and he meant only to follow and execute his intentions ; he concluded with promising ample rewards to those, who should distinguish themselves by their valour in that expedition.

Mardonius, the same person that had been so unsuccessful in Darius's reign, grown neither wiser, nor less ambitious by his ill success, and covering extremely to have the command of the army, was the first, who gave his opinion. He began by extolling Xerxes above all the kings, that had preceded him, and all those, that were to come after him. He endeavoured to shew, the indispensable necessity of avenging the dishonour done to the Persian name : he disparaged the Grecians, and represented them as a cowardly, timorous people, without courage, without strength, or experience in war. For a proof of what he said, he mentioned his own conquest

XERXES. quest of Macedonia, which he mightily exaggerated, and spoke of in a very vain and ostentatious manner, as if that people had submitted to him without any resistance. He presumed even to assure the king, that not any of the Grecian nations would venture to come out against Xerxes, who would march with all the forces of Asia ; and if they had the temerity to present themselves before him, they would learn, to their cost, that the Persians were the bravest and most warlike nation in the world.

The rest of the council perceiving that this flattering discourse extremely pleased the king, not one of them would venture to contradict it, but all kept silence. This was almost an unavoidable consequence of Xerxes's manner of proceeding. A wise prince, when he proposes an affair in council, and really desires, that every one should speak his true sentiments, is extremely careful to conceal his own opinion, that he may put no constraint upon that of others, but leave them entirely at liberty. Xerxes, on the contrary, had openly discovered his own inclination, or rather resolution to undertake the war. When a prince acts in this manner, he will always find artful flatterers, who being eager to insinuate themselves and to please, and ever ready to comply with his passions, will not fail to back his opinion by specious and plausible reasons ; whilst those, that would be capable of giving good counsel, are restrained by fear, there being very few courtiers, who love their prince well enough, and have sufficient courage withal, to venture to displease him by disputing what they know to be his taste or opinion.

The excessive praises, given by Mardonius to Xerxes, which are the usual language of flatterers, ought to have rendered him suspicious to the king, and made him apprehend, that under an appearance of zeal for his glory, that nobleman endeavoured to cloak his own ambition, and the violent desire he had to command the army. But these sweet and flatter-

tering words, which glide like a serpent under flowers, are so far from displeasing princes, that they captivate and charm them. They do not consider, that men flatter and praise them, because they believe them weak and vain enough to suffer themselves to be deceived by commendations, that bear no proportion to their merits and actions. XERXES.

This behaviour of the king shut the mouths of all those in the council. In this general silence, Artabanes, the king's uncle, a prince very venerable for his age and prudence, made the following speech. " Permit me, great prince", says he, addressing himself to Xerxes, " to deliver my sentiments to you on this occasion with a liberty suitable to my age and to your interests. When Darius, your father and my brother, first thought of making war against the Scythians, I used all my endeavours to divert him from it. I need not tell you what that enterprise cost, or what was the success of it. The people, you are going to attack, are infinitely more formidable than the Scythians. The Grecians are esteemed to have the very best troops, either for fighting by land or by sea. If the Athenians alone could defeat the numerous army, commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, what ought we to expect from all the nations of Greece united together? You design to pass from Asia into Europe by laying a bridge over the sea. And what will become of us, if the Athenians proving victorious should come up to this bridge with their fleet, and break it down? I still tremble when I consider, that in the Scythian expedition, the life of the king your father, and the safety of all his army were reduced to depend upon the fidelity of one single man, and that if Hyftæus the Milesian, had, in compliance with the strong application made to him, consented to break the bridge, which had been laid over the Danube, the Persian empire had been entirely

I 4

" ruined.

XERXES. “ruined. Do not expose your self, Sir, to the like
 “danger, especially since you are not obliged to do
 “it. Take time at least to reflect upon it. / When
 “we have maturely deliberated upon an affair,
 “whatever happens to be the success of it, we have
 “nothing to reproach our selves withal. / Precipita-
 “tion, besides its being imprudent, is almost al-
 “ways unfortunate, and attended with fatal conse-
 “quences. Above all, do not suffer yourself, great
 “prince, to be dazzled with the vain splendor of
 “an imaginary glory, or with the pompous appear-
 “ance of your troops. The highest and most lofty
 “trees have the greatest reason to dread the thunder.
 “As God alone is truly great, he is an enemy to *
 “pride, and takes pleasure in humbling every thing
 “that exalteth itself: and very often the most nu-
 “merous armies flie before an handful of men, be-
 “cause he inspires these with courage, and scatters
 “terror among the other.”

Artabanes, after having thus spoken to the king,
 turned himself towards Mardonius, and reproached
 him with his want of sincerity or judgment, in giving
 the king a notion of the Grecians so directly contra-
 ry to truth; and shewed, how extremely he was
 to blame for desiring rashly to engage the nation in
 a war, which nothing but his own views of interest
 and ambition could tempt him to advise. And
 then he concluded with these words: “If a war
 “be resolved upon, let the king, whose life is dear
 “to us all, remain in Persia: and do you, since
 “you so ardently desire it, march at the head of
 “the most numerous army, that can be gathered
 “together. In the mean time, let your children
 “and mine be given up as a pledge, to answer
 “for the success of the war. If the issue of it be fa-
 “vourable, I consent, that my children be put to

* Φιλῆ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἐπὶ ἐρχόμενα πάντα κολούει· ὅτι ἐὰν φρονέῃ ἄλλω
 μύθῳ ὁ θεός, ἢ ἐαυτοῦν

“ death * : but if it proves otherwise, as I well XERXES.
 “ foresee it will, then I desire, that your children,
 “ and you your self on your return, may be
 “ treated in such a manner, as you deserve, for the
 “ rash counsel you have given your master.”

Xerxes, who was not accustomed to have his sentiments thus contradicted, fell into a rage.
 “ Thank the gods, says he to Artabanes, that you
 “ are my father’s brother ; were it not for that, you
 “ should this moment suffer the just reward of your
 “ audacious behaviour. But I will punish you for
 “ it in another manner, by leaving you here among
 “ the women, whom you too much resemble in
 “ your cowardise and fear, whilst I march at the
 “ head of my troops, where my duty and glory
 “ call me.”

Artabanes had expressed his sentiments in very respectful and inoffensive terms : Xerxes nevertheless was extremely offended. ¶ It is the † misfortune of princes, spoiled by flattery, to look upon every thing, as rough and unmannerly, that is sincere and ingenuous, and to regard every advice, delivered with a generous and disinterested freedom, as a presumptuous and seditious assurance. ¶ They do not consider, that even a good man never dares to tell them all he thinks, or discover the whole truth ; especially in things, that may be disagreeable to their humour : and that the thing they stand most in need of, is a sincere and faithful friend, that will conceal nothing from them. A prince ought to think himself very happy, if in his whole reign he finds but one man born with that degree of generosity, who certainly ought to be considered as the most valuable treasure of the state, inasmuch as he is, if the ex-

* *Why should the children be punished for their fathers faults?* quicquam nisi jucundum et lætum accipiant. Tacit. Hist.

† Ita formatis principum aulicis, ut aspera quæ utilia, nec l. 3. c. 5, 6.

XERXES. preffion may be admitted, both the most useful and
 * uncommon instrument of government.

✱ Xerxes himself acknowledged this upon the occasion we are speaking of. When the first emotions of his anger were past, and he had had time to reflect on his pillow upon the two different counsels, that were given him, he confessed he had been to blame to give his uncle such harsh language, and was not ashamed to repair his fault the next day in full council, ingenuously owning, that the heat of his youth and his want of experience had made him negligent in paying the regard due to a prince so worthy of respect, as Artabanes, both for his age and wisdom: and declaring at the same time, that he was come over to his opinion, notwithstanding a dream he had had in the night, wherein a vision had appeared to him, and warmly exhorted him to undertake that war. All the lords who composed the council, were ravished to hear the king speak in this manner; and to testify their joy, they fell all down prostrate before him, striving who should most extoll the glory of such a proceeding: nor could their praises on such an occasion be at all suspected. † For it is no hard matter to discern, whether the praises, given to princes, proceed from the heart, and are founded upon truth, or whether they drop from the lips only, as an effect of mere flattery and deceit. That sincere and humble declaration of the king's, far from appearing as a weakness in him, was looked upon by them as a glorious effort of a great soul, which gets the superiority over its own faults, by bravely confessing them, in order to make reparation and atonement. They admired the nobleness of this procedure the more, as they knew, that princes edu-

* Nullum majus boni imperii
 instrumentum quam bonus ami-
 cus. *Tacit. Hist. l. 4. c. 7.*

† Nec occultum est quando

ex veritate, quando adumbrata
 lætitia, facta imperatorum cele-
 brantur. *Tacit. Annal. l. 4. c.*
 31.

cated like Xerxes, in a vain haughtiness and false glory, are never disposed to own themselves in the wrong, and generally make use of their authority to justify, with pride and obstinacy, whatever faults they have committed through ignorance or imprudence. (We may venture, I think, to say, that it is more glorious to rise in this manner, than it would be never to have fallen. Certainly there is nothing greater, and at the same time more rare and uncommon, than to see a mighty and powerful prince, and that in the time of his greatest prosperity, acknowledge his faults, when he happens to commit any, without seeking to cover them with any pretexts or excuses; pay homage to truth, even when it is against him and condemns him; and leave other princes, who have a false delicacy concerning their grandeur, the shame of being ever full of errors and defects, and of never owning that they have any. ^

The night following, the same phaetom, if we may believe Herodotus, appeared again to the king, and repeated the same solicitations with new menaces and threatnings. Xerxes communicated what passed to his uncle, and in order to find out, whether this vision was divine or not, entreated him earnestly to put on the royal robes, to ascend the throne, and afterwards to pass the night in his bed and his place. Artabanes hereupon discoursed very sensibly and rationally with the king upon the vanity of dreams, and then coming to what personally regarded him: * “ I look upon it, says he, “ almost equally commendable to think well “ one’s self, or to hearken with docility to the

* *This thought is in Hesiod: rem sit; secundum eum, qui Opera & Dies, v. 293. Cic. for benè monenti obediat: qui nec Cluent. n. 84. & Tit. Liv. b. ipse consulere, nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in esse.*

XERXES. “ good counsels of others. You have both these
“ qualities, great prince ; and if you followed the
“ natural bent of your own temper, it would lead
“ you entirely to sentiments of wisdom and moderation. You never take any violent measures or
“ resolutions, but when the artifice of evil coun-
“ sellors draws you into them, or the poison of
“ flattery misleads you ; in the same manner as
“ the ocean, which of itself is calm and serene,
“ and never disturbed but by the extraneous im-
“ pulse of other bodies. What afflicted me in the
“ answer you made me the other day, when I de-
“ livered my sentiments freely in council, was not
“ the personal affront, that was put upon me, but
“ the injury you did your self by making so wrong
“ a choice between the two different counsels, that
“ were offered, rejecting that, which led you to
“ sentiments of moderation and equity ; and em-
“ bracing the other, which, on the contrary, tend-
“ ed only to the feeding of a man’s pride, and the
“ exciting of his ambition.”

Artabanes, through complaisance, passed the night in the king’s bed, and had the same vision which Xerxes had had before ; that is, in his sleep and in dreaming, he saw a man, who made him severe reproaches, and threatened him with the greatest misfortunes, if he continued to oppose the king’s intentions. This so much affected him, that he came over to the king’s first opinion, believing, that there was something divine in these repeated visions ; and the war against the Grecians was resolved upon. These circumstances I relate, as I find them in Herodotus.

Xerxes in the sequel did but ill support this character and glory, which he acquired in the beginning. We shall find, that he had but very short intervals of wisdom and reason, which exerted themselves for a moment, and then gave way to the most culpable and extravagant excesses. We may judge however
even

even from thence, that he had very good natural endowments and happy dispositions. But the most excellent qualities are soon spoiled and corrupted by the poison of flattery, and by the possession of an absolute and unlimited authority: *vi dominationis convulsus*. XERXES. Tacit.

It is a fine sentiment in a minister of state, to be less affected with the affront, that is put upon himself, than with the wrong, that is done his master by giving him evil and pernicious counsel.

Mardonius's counsel was pernicious; because, as Artabanus observes, it tended only to nourish and encrease that spirit of haughtiness and violence in the prince, which was but too prevalent in him already, *ὁ βίον αὐξέσθης*; and * in that it disposed and accustomed his mind still to carry his views and desires beyond his present fortune, still to be aiming at something farther, and to put no bounds to his ambition. † This is the predominant passion of those men, whom we usually call conquerors, and whom, according to the language of the holy scripture, we might call with greater propriety, || *robbers of nations*. If you consider and examine the whole succession of Persian kings, says Seneca, will you find any one of them, that ever stopped his career of his own accord; that was ever satisfied with his past conquests; or that was not forming some new project or enterprize, when death surprized him? Nor ought we to be astonished at such a disposition, adds the same author: for ambition is a gulf and a bot-

*Prædo-
nes genti-
um. Jere.
4. 7.*

* Ὡς κακὸν εἶη διδάσκειν τὴν
ψυχὴν πλέον τι διξέσθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν
τὴν παρίσταντες

† Nec hoc Alexandri tantum vitium fuit, quem per liberi Herculisque vestigia felix temeritas egit; sed omnium, quos fortuna irritavit implendo. Tertium regni Perfici stemma per-
fense: quem invenies, cui mo-

dum imperii satietas fecerit? qui non vitam in aliqua ulterius procedendi cogitatione finieret? Nec id mirum est. Quicquid cupiditati contigit, penitus hauritur et conditur: nec interit quantum cō, quod inexplebile est, congeras. *Senec. l. 7. de benef. cap. 3.*

XERXES. tomless abyfs, wherein every thing is loft, that is thrown in, and where, though you were to heap province upon province, and kingdom upon kingdom, you would never be able to fill up the vacuity.

S E C T. II.

Xerxes begins his march, and paffes from Asia into Europe, by crossing the freights of the Hellespont upon a bridge of boats.

A. M.
3523.
Ant. J. C.
481

THE war being refolved upon, Xerxes, that he might omit nothing, which might contribute to the fuccels of his undertaking, entered into a confederacy with the Carthaginians, who were at that time the moft potent people of the weft, and made an agreement with them, that whilft the Perfian forces fhould attack Greece, the Carthaginians fhould fall upon the Grecian colonies, that were fettled in Sicily and Italy, in order to hinder them from coming to fuocour the other Grecians. The Carthaginians made Amilcar their general, who did not content himfelf with raifing as many troops as he could in Africa, but with the money, that Xerxes had fent him, engaged a great number of fouldiers out of Spain, Gaul, and Italy in his fervice; fo that he collected an army of three hundred thoufand men, and a proportionable number of fhips, in order to execute the projects and ftipulations of the league.

Thus Xerxes, agreeably to the prophet Daniel's prediction, * *having through his power and his great riches ftirred up all the nations of the then known world againft the realm of Greece, that is to fay, of all the*

* Ecce adhuc tres reges ftabunt in Perfide; et quartus (i. e. Xerxes) ditabitur opibus nimis fuper omnes: et cum invaluerit divitiis fuis, concitabit omnes adverfum regnum Græciæ. Dan. c. ii. v. 2.

went under the command of Amilcar, and of all the ^{XERXES.} east, that was under his own banner, set out from Susa, ^{Her. 1. 7.} in order to enter upon this war, in the fifth year of ^{c. 26.} his reign, which was the tenth after the battle of ^{A. M.} Marathon, and marched towards Sardis, the place ^{3524.} of rendezvous for the whole land-army, whilst that ^{Ant. J. C.} by sea advanced along the coasts of Asia Minor to- ^{480.} wards the Hellespont.

Xerxes had given orders to have a passage cut ^{Ibid. c.} through mount Athos. This is a mountain in Ma- ^{21, 24.} cedonia, now a province of the European Turkey, which reaches a great way in the Archipelago, in the form of a peninsula. It is joined to the land only by an Isthmus of about half a league over. We have already taken notice, that the sea in this place was very tempestuous, and occasioned frequent shipwrecks. Xerxes made this his pretext of the orders he gave for cutting through the mountain: but the true reason was the vanity of signalizing himself by an extraordinary enterprize, and by doing a thing, that was extremely difficult; as Tacitus says of Nero: *erat incredibilium cupitor*. Accordingly Herodotus observes, that this undertaking was more vain-glorious than useful, since he might with less trouble and expence have had his vessels carried over the Isthmus, as was the practice in those days. The passage he caused to be cut through the mountain was broad enough to let two galleys with three banks of oars each, pass through it a breast. This prince, ^{Plut. de} who was extravagant enough to believe, that all na- ^{irâ cohib.} ture and the very elements were under his command, ^{P. 455.} in consequence of that opinion, writ a letter to mount Athos in the following terms: *Athos, thou proud and aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head unto the heavens, I advise thee not to be so audacious, as to put rocks and stones, which cannot be cut, in the way of my workmen. If thou givest them that opposition, I shall cut thee entirely down, and throw thee headlong into the sea.* At the same time he ordered his labourers ^{Plut. de anim. tranq. p. 470.}

XERXES. bourners to be whipt in order to make them carry on the work the faster.

Bellon. A traveller, who lived in the time of Francis the first, and who writ a book in Latin concerning the singular and remarkable things he had seen in his travels, makes a doubt of the truth of this fact, and takes notice, that as he passed near mount Athos, he could perceive no traces or footsteps of the work we have been speaking of.

Herod. Xerxes, as we have already related, advanced towards Sardis. Having left Cappadocia and passed the river Halys, he came to Celene, a city of Phrygia, near to which, is the source of the Meander. Pythius, a Lydian prince, had his residence in this city, and next to Xerxes himself was the most opulent prince of those times. He entertained Xerxes and his whole army with an incredible magnificence, and made him an offer of all his wealth towards defraying the expences of his expedition. Xerxes, surprized and charmed at so generous an offer, had the curiosity to enquire to what sum his riches amounted. Pythius made answer, that having the design of offering them to his service he had taken an exact account of them, and that the silver he had by him amounted to two thousand talents; (which make six millions french money) and the gold to four millions of Darics, wanting seven thousand; (that is to say, to forty millions of livres, wanting seventy thousand, reckoning ten livres French money to the Daric.) All this money he offered him, telling him, that his revenues were sufficient for the support of his household. Xerxes made him very hearty acknowledgments, entered into a particular friendship with him, and, that he might not be outdone in generosity, instead of accepting his offers, obliged him to accept of a present of the seven thousand Darics, which were wanting to make up his gold a round sum of four millions.

After

After such an action as this I have been relating, who would not think, that Pythius's peculiar character and particular virtue had been generosity, and a noble contempt of riches? And yet he was one of the most penurious princes in the world; and one, who besides his sordid avarice and stinginess to himself, was extremely cruel and inhumane with respect to his subjects, whom he kept continually employed in hard and fruitless labour, always digging and searching for gold and silver mines, which he had in his territories. When he was absent from home, his subjects went all with tears in their eyes to the princess his wife, laid their complaints before her, and implored her assistance. She commiserating their condition, made use of a very extraordinary method to work upon her husband, and to give him a clear sense and a kind of a palpable demonstration of the folly and injustice of his conduct. On his return home, she ordered an entertainment to be prepared for him, very magnificent in appearance, but what in reality was no entertainment. All the courses and services were of gold and silver; and the prince in the midst of all these rich dishes and splendid rarities could not satisfy his hunger. He easily divined the meaning of this ænigma, and began to consider, that the end of gold and silver was not merely to be looked upon, but to be employed and made use of; and that to neglect, as he had done, the business of husbandry and the tilling of lands, by employing all his people in digging and working of mines, was the direct way to bring a famine both upon himself and his country. For the future therefore he only reserved a fifth part of his people for the business of mining. It is Plutarch, that has handed down this fact to us in a treatise, wherein he has collected a great many others together, in order to prove the ability and industry of ladies. We have the same disposition of mind marked out to us in fabulous story, by the example of a prince, we there read of,

XERXES.
Plut. calls
him Pythius.
Plut. de
virt. muli-
er. p. 262.

Midas king
of Phrygia.

XERXES. and who reigned in this very country, for whom every thing, that he touched, was immediately turned into gold, according to the request, which he himself had made to the gods, and who by that means was in danger of perishing with hunger.

Her. l. 7. The same prince, who had made such obliging
c. 38, 39. offers to Xerxes, having desired as a favour of him
Sen. de ira. sometime afterwards, that out of his five sons, who
l. 3. c. 17. served in his army, he would be pleased to leave him the eldest, in order to be a support and comfort to him in his old age, the king was so enraged at the proposal, though so reasonable in itself, that he caused that eldest son to be killed before the eyes of his father, giving the latter to understand, that it was a favour he spared him and the rest of his children; and then causing the dead body to be cut in two, and one part to be placed on the right, and the other on the left, he made the whole army pass between them, as if he meant to purge and purify it by such a sacrifice. What a monster in nature is a prince of this kind! How is it possible to have any dependance upon the friendship of the great, or to rely upon their warmest professions and protestations of kindness and service?

Her. l. 7. From Phrygia Xerxes marched, and arrived at
c. 30—32. Sardis, where he spent the winter. From hence he sent heralds to all the cities of Greece, except Athens and Lacedæmon, to require them to give him earth and water, which, as we have taken notice before, was the way of exacting and acknowledging submission.

As soon as the spring of the year came on, he left Sardis, and directed his march towards the Hellespont. Being arrived there he had a mind to see a naval engagement for his curiosity and diversion. To which end, a throne was erected for him under an eminence; and in that situation, seeing all the sea crowded with his vessels, and the land covered with his troops; he felt a secret joy diffuse itself through his soul,

soul; whilst he was thus surveying with his own eyes XERXES. the vast extent of his power, and considering himself, as the most happy of mortals: but reflecting soon afterwards, that of so many thousands of men, in an hundred years time there would not be one living soul remaining, his joy was turned into grief, and he wept at the consideration of the uncertainty and instability of human things. He might have found another subject of reflection, which would have more justly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon himself, and considered the reproaches he deserved for being the instrument of shortning that fatal term to millions of people, whom his cruel ambition was going to sacrifice in an unjust and unnecessary war.

Artabanes, who neglected no opportunity of making himself useful to the young prince, and of instilling sentiments of kindness into him towards his people, laid hold of this moment, in which he found him touched with a sense of tenderness and humanity, and led him into further reflections upon the miseries, that the lives of most men are accompanied with, and that render them so melancholy and so burdensome to them; endeavouring at the same time to make him sensible of the duty and obligations, that are incumbent upon princes, who, not being able to prolong the natural life of their subjects, ought at least to do all, that lies in their power, to alleviate the pains, and to sweeten the bitterness of it.

In the same conversation Xerxes asked his uncle, if he still persisted in his first opinion, and if his advice would be still, not to make war against Greece, supposing he had not seen the vision, which occasioned him to change his sentiments. Artabanes owned, he still had his fears; and that he was very uneasy concerning two things. What are those two things, replies Xerxes? The land and the sea, says Artabanes: the land; because there is no country, that

XERXES. can feed and maintain so numerous an army: the sea; because there are no ports capable of receiving such a multitude of vessels. The king was very sensible of the strength of this reasoning; but, as it was now too late to go back, he made answer, that in great undertakings, men ought not so narrowly to examine all the inconveniences that may attend them; that if they did, no signal enterprizes would ever be attempted; and that if his predecessors had observed so scrupulous and timorous a rule of politicks, the Persian empire would never have risen to that pitch of greatness and glory it was now at.

Artabanus gave the king another piece of very prudent advice, which he thought fit to follow no more than he had done the former: this advice was, not to employ the Ionians in his service against the Grecians, from whom they were originally descended, and on which account he ought to suspect their fidelity. Xerxes however, after these conversations with his uncle, shewed him very great friendship, gave him the highest demonstrations of honour and respect, sent him back to Susa to take the care and administration of the empire upon him during his own absence, and to that end vested him with his whole authority.

Her. 1. 7. Xerxes, at a vast expence, had caused a bridge
c. 33—36. of boats to be built upon the sea, for the passage of his forces from Asia into Europe. The space that separates the two continents, formerly called the Hellespont, and now called the streights of the Dardanells, or of Gallipoli, is seven stadia's in breadth, which is near an English mile. A violent storm rising on a sudden, soon after broke down the bridge. Xerxes hearing this news on his arrival, fell into a transport of passion; and in order to avenge himself of so cruel an affront, commanded two pair of chains to be thrown into the sea, as if he meant to shackle and confine it, and that his men should give it three hundred strokes of a whip, and
speak

speak to it in this manner: Thou troublesome and un-
bappy element, thus does thy master chastise thee for ha-
ving affronted him without reason. Know, that Xerxes
will easily find means to pass over thy waters in spite
of all thy billows and resistance. The extravagance
 of this prince did not stop here; but making the
 undertakers of the work answerable for events,
 which the least in the world depend upon the power
 of man, he ordered all the persons to have their
 heads cut off, who had had the direction and ma-
 nagement of that undertaking.

Xerxes commanded two other bridges to be built Her. l. 7.
c. 33—36.
 anew, one for the army to pass over, and the other
 for the baggage and the beasts of burden. He ap-
 pointed workmen more able and expert than the
 former; and this was the manner they went about it.
 They placed three hundred and sixty vessels a-cross,
 some of them having three banks of oars, and other
 fifty oars a-piece, with their sides turned towards
 the Euxine sea; and on the side that faced the Ægæ-
 an sea they put three hundred and fourteen. They
 then cast large anchors into the water on both sides,
 in order to fix and secure all these vessels against
 the violence of the winds, and against the * cur-
 rent of the water. On the east side they left
 three passages, or vacant spaces, between the ves-
 sels, that there might be room for small boats to
 go and come easily, as there was occasion, to and
 from the Euxine sea. After this upon the land on
 both sides they drove large piles into the earth with
 huge rings fastened to them, to which were tyed six
 mighty cables, which went over each of the two
 bridges; two of which cables were made of hemp,
 and four of a sort of reeds, called βίβλος, which were
 made use of in those times for the making of cord-

* Polybius remarks, that there the rivers, which empty them-
 is a current of water from the selves into those two seas. Pol. l.
 lake Mæstis and the Euxine sea 4. pag. 307, 308.
 into the Egæan sea, occasioned by

XERXES.

age. Those that were made of hemp, must have been of an extraordinary strength and thickness, since every cubit of those cables weighed a * talent. The cables, laid over the whole extent of the vessels length-wise, reached over the sea from one side to the other. When this part of the work was finished, quite over the vessels length-wise, and over the cables we have been speaking of, they laid the trunks of trees, cut purposely for that use, and flat boards again over them, fastened and joined together, to serve as a kind of a floor or solid bottom: all which they covered over with earth, and added rails, or battlements, on each side, that the horses and the cattle might not be frightened with seeing the sea in their passage. This was the form of those famous bridges, that were built by Xerxes.

When the whole work was compleated, a day was appointed for their passing over. And as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, sweet odours of all kinds were abundantly spread over both the bridges, and the way was strewed with myrtle. At the same time Xerxes poured out libations into the sea; and turning his face towards the sun, the principal object of the Persian worship, he implored the assistance of that god in the enterprize he had undertaken, and desired the continuance of his protection till he had made the entire conquest of Europe, and had brought it into subjection to his dominion: this done, he threw the vessel, which he used in making his libations, together with a golden cup, and a Persian scimitar, into the sea. The army was seven days and seven nights in passing over these streights; those, who were appointed to conduct the march, lashing the poor soldiers all the while with whips, in order to quicken their speed, according to the cus-

* A talent in weight consisted of 60 minæ, that is to say, of 42 pound of our weight; and the mina consisted of 100 drachms.

tom of that nation, which properly speaking was XERXES. but a company of slaves.

S E C T. III.

The numbering of Xerxes's army. Demaratus freely delivers his sentiments upon the subject of that prince's enterprize.

XERXES, directing his march a-cross the Her. l. 7. Thracian Chersonesus, arrived at Dor, a city c. 56—99. standing at the mouth of the Hebrus in Thrace; & 184—187. where, having incamped his army, and given orders for his fleet to follow him, as he went along the river side, he had the opportunity of reviewing both together.

He found his land-army, which he had brought out of Asia, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and of fourscore thousand horse, which, together with twenty thousand men, that there must necessarily be for conducting and taking care of the carriages and the camels, made in all eighteen hundred thousand men. When he had passed the Hellespont, the other nations, that submitted to him, made an addition to his army of three hundred thousand men; which made all his land-forces together amount to two million one hundred thousand men.

His fleet, as it was, when it set out from Asia, consisted of twelve hundred and seven vessels, or galleys, all of three banks of oars, and intended for fighting. Each vessel carried two hundred men, that were natives of the country that fitted them out, besides thirty men more, that were either Persians, or Medes, or of the Sacæ: which made in all two hundred and seventy seven thousand six hundred and ten men. The European nations augmented his fleet with an hundred and twenty vessels, each of which carried two hundred men, which makes up the number of four and twenty thousand: these

XERXES. added to the other, amount together to three hundred and one thousand six hundred and ten men.

■ Besides this fleet, which consisted all of large vessels, the small galleys of thirty and fifty oars, the transport ships, the vessels that carried the provisions, and that were employed in other uses, amounted to three thousand. If we reckon but eighty men in each of these vessels, one with another, that made in the whole, two hundred and forty thousand men.

Thus when Xerxes arrived at Thermopylæ, his land and sea-forces together made up the number of two million, six hundred and forty one thousand, six hundred and ten men, without including servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, and other people of that sort, which usually follow an army, and of which the number here was equal to that of the forces : so that the whole number of souls that followed Xerxes in this expedition, amounted to five millions two hundred eighty three thousand two hundred and twenty. This is the computation which Herodotus makes of them, and in which Plutarch and Isocrates agree with him. Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Ælianus and others, fall very short of this number in their calculation : but their accounts of the matter appear to be less authentick than that of Herodotus, who liv'd in the very age, wherein this expedition was made, and who recites an inscription, that was put by the order of the Amphictyones, upon the monument of those Grecians, who were killed at Thermopylæ, and in which it is recorded that they fought against three millions of men.

Her. l. 7. For the sustenance of all these persons there must be every day consumed, according to Herodotus's computation, above an hundred and ten thousand three hundred and forty Medimna's of flower, (the Medimnum was a measure, which according to Budæus was equivalent to six of our bushels) allowing for every head the quantity of a choenix, which was the daily portion or allowance, that the masters

gave

Diod.

l. 11. p. 3.

Plin. l. 33.

c. 10.

Ælian.

l. 13. c. 3.

13-6040

gave their slaves among the Grecians. We have no **XERXES.** account in history of any other army so numerous as this. And amongst all these millions of men, there was not one, that could vie with Xerxes in point of beauty, either for the comeliness of his face, or the tallness of his person. But this is a poor merit or pre-eminence for a prince, when it is accompanied with no other. Accordingly Justin, after he has mentioned the number of these troops, adds, that this vast body of forces wanted a head: *Huic tanto agmini dux defuit.*

We should hardly be able to conceive how it was possible to find a sufficient quantity of provisions for such an immense number of persons, if the historian **Her. 1. 7.** had not advertised us, that Xerxes had employed **c. 20.** four whole years in making preparations for this expedition. We have seen already how many loaded vessels there were, that coasted along continually to attend upon and supply the land-army: and doubtless there were fresh ones arriving every day, that furnished the camp with a sufficient plenty of all things necessary.

Herodotus acquaints us with the method they made **Ibid. c. 60.** use of to calculate their forces, which were almost innumerable. They assembled ten thousand men in a particular place, and ranked them as close together as was possible; after which they described a circle quite round them, and erected a little wall upon that circle about half the height of a man's body: when this was done, they filled this inclosure with fresh and fresh forces, till the whole army had passed through it, and by this means they knew to what number it amounted.

Herodotus gives us likewise a particular account of the different armour of all the nations this army consisted of. Besides the generals of every nation, who each of them commanded the troops of their respective country, the land-army was under the command of six Persian generals: viz. Mardonius, the

XERXES. the son of Gobryas ; Tirintatechmus, the son of Artabanus, and Smerdonus, son to Oranes, both near relations to the king ; Malistus son of Darius and Atossa ; Gergis, son of Ariazes ; and Megabyzes, son of Zopyrus. The ten thousand Persians, who were called the immortal band, were commanded by Hydarnes. The cavalry had its particular generals and commanders.

Her. l. 7. There were likewise four Persian generals who
c. 89, 99. commanded the fleet. In Herodotus we have a particular account of all the nations, by which it was fitted out. Artemisa queen of Halicarnassus, who since the death of her husband, had the government of the kingdom for her son, that was still a minor, brought but five vessels along with her ; but they were the best equipped and the sprucest of any in the whole fleet, next to those of the Sidonians. This princess distinguished her self in this war by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct. Herodotus observes, that among all the commanders in the army, there was not one who gave Xerxes so good advice and such wise counsel, as this queen : but he was not prudent enough to reap the benefit of it.

When Xerxes had numbered his whole forces by land and by sea, he asked Demaratus, if he thought the Grecians would dare to expect him. I have already taken notice, that this Demaratus was one of the two kings of Sparta, who being exil'd by the faction of his enemies had sought refuge at the Persian court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and beneficence. As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprize that a king should suffer himself to be banished, and desired him to acquaint them with the reason of it : *It is, says he, because the law is more powerful than the kings at Sparta.* This prince was very much considered in Persia : but neither the injustice of the Spartan citizens, nor the kind treatment of the Persian king, could make

Plut. in
Apoph.
lacon.
p. 220.

make him forget his country *. As soon as he knew XERXES. that Xerxes was making preparations for the war, he found means to give the Grecians secret intelligence of it. And now being obliged on this occasion to speak his sentiments to the king, he did it with such a noble freedom and dignity, as became a Spartan, and a king of Sparta.

Demaratus, before he answered the king's question, desired to know whether it was his pleasure, Her. 1. 7. c. 101, 105. that he should flatter him, or that he should speak his thoughts to him freely and truly : Xerxes having declared that he desired him to act with a perfect sincerity, he spoke in the following terms : " Great prince", says Demaratus, " since it is agreeable to your pleasure and commands, I shall deliver my sentiments to you with the utmost truth and sincerity. It must be confessed, that from the beginning of time, Greece has been trained up, and accustomed to poverty : but then she has introduced and established virtue within her territories, which is cultivated by the study of wisdom, and maintained by the vigour of her laws. And it is by the use, which Greece knows how to make of this virtue, that she equally defends her self against the inconveniences of poverty, and the yoke of servitude. But, to speak only of the Lacedæmonians, my particular countrymen, you may assure yourself, that as they are born and bred up in liberty, they will never hearken to any proposition, which tends to slavery. Though they were deserted and abandoned by all the other Grecians, and reduced to a band of a thousand men, or even to a more inconsiderable number, they will still come out to meet you, and not refuse to give you battle." Xerxes upon hearing this discourse fell a laughing : and as he could not comprehend how men, in such a state of liberty and indepen-

* *Amicior patriæ post fugam, quàm regi post beneficia.* *Justin.*
dence,

XERXES. dence, as that of the Lacedæmonians was described to be, who had no master to force and compel them to it, could be capable of exposing themselves in such a manner to danger and death. Demaratus replied : “ The Spartans indeed are free, and under no
 Ibid. c. 145, 146. “ subjection to the will of any man ; but at the
 “ same time they have laws, to which they are sub-
 “ ject, and of which they stand in greater awe than
 “ your subjects do of your majesty. Now by these
 “ laws they are forbid ever to run away in battle,
 “ let the number of their enemies be never so su-
 “ perior, and are commanded, by abiding firm in
 “ their post, either to conquer, or to dye.”

Xerxes was not offended at the liberty wherewith Demaratus spoke to him, and continued his march.

S E C T. IV.

The Lacedæmonians and Athenians send to their allies in vain to require succours from them. The command of the fleet given to the Lacedæmonians.

Her. 1. 7. **L**ACEDÆMON and Athens, which were the
 c. 145, two most powerful cities of Greece, and the
 146. cities, against which Xerxes was most exasperated, were not indolent or asleep, when so formidable an enemy was approaching. Having had intelligence long before of the motions of this prince, they had sent spies to Sardis, in order to have a more exact information of the number and quality of his forces. These spies were taken up, and as they were just going to be put to death, Xerxes countermanded it, and gave order, that they should be conducted through his army, and then sent back without any harm being done to them. By their return the Grecians understood what they had to apprehend from so potent an enemy.

They sent deputies at the same time to Argos, into Sicily to Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, to the isles
 of

Corcyra and Crete, to desire succours from them, XERXES.
d to form a league against the common enemy.

The people of Argos offered a very considerable Ibid. c.
scour, on condition they should have an equal share 148, 152.

the authority and command with the Lacedæmonians. The latter consented, that the king of Argos should have the same authority, as either of the two kings of Sparta. This was granting them a great deal: but into what errors and mischiefs are men led by a mistaken point of honour, and a foolish jealousy and rivalry in command! The Argians were not contented with this offer, and so refused to enter into the league with the Grecians, without considering, that if they suffered them to be destroyed, their own ruin must inevitably follow.

The deputies proceeded from Argos to Sicily, and addressed themselves to Gelo, who was at that time the most potent prince in all the Grecian colonies. This Sicilian prince offered to assist them with two hundred vessels of three banks of oars, with an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, together with two thousand light-armed soldiers, and the same number of bow-men and slingers, and to supply the Grecian army with provisions during the whole war, on condition they would make him generallissimo of all the forces both by land and by sea. The Lacedæmonians were highly provoked at such a proposition. Gelo then abated somewhat in his demands, and promised all that I have mentioned, provided he had at least the command either of the fleet or of the army. This proposal was strenuously opposed by the Athenians, who made answer, that they alone had a right to command the fleet, in case the Lacedæmonians were willing to give it up. Gelo in truth had a more substantial reason for not leaving Sicily unprovided of troops, which was the approach of the formidable army of Carthaginians, com-

XERXES. commanded by Amilcar, that consisted of three hundred thousand men.

Her. 1. 7. The inhabitants of Corcyra, now called Corfou,
c. 168. gave the envoys a more favourable answer, and immediately put themselves to sea with a fleet of sixty vessels. But they advanced no farther than to the coasts of Laconia, pretending they were hindered by contrary winds, but in reality waiting to see the success of an engagement, that they might afterwards range themselves on the side of the conqueror.

Ibid. c. The people of Crete, having consulted the Del-
169—phic oracle to know what resolution they were to
171. take on this occasion, absolutely refused to enter into the league.

Ibid. Thus were the Lacedæmonians and Athenians left
c. 132. almost to themselves, all the rest of the cities and nations having submitted to the heralds, that Xerxes had sent to require earth and water of them; excepting the people of Thespia and of Plataea. In a time of so pressing a danger, the first thing they went about was to put an end to all discord and division among themselves; for which reason the Athenians made peace with the people of Ægina, with whom they were actually at war.

Pint. in The next thing they took care of was to appoint a
Themist. general: for there never was any occasion wherein it
P. 114. was more necessary to choose one, that could worthily discharge such a trust, than in the present conjuncture, when Greece was going to be attacked by the whole forces of Asia. The most able and experienced captains, terrify'd at the greatness of the danger, had taken the resolution of not presenting themselves as candidates. There was a certain citizen at Athens, whose name was Epicydes, that had a tolerable talent at speaking, but in other respects was a person of no merit, was in disreputation for his want of courage, and notorious for his avarice. Notwithstanding all which it was apprehended, that in the assembly of the people the votes would run in his favour. Themistocles,

cles, who was sensible, * that in calm weather almost XERXES.
any sailor may be capable of conducting a vessel,
but that in storms and tempests the most able pilots
can scarcely do it with all their capacity, was con-
vinced, that the commonwealth was lost, if Epicy-
des was chosen general, whose venal and mercenary
soul gave them all the reason in the world to fear, that
he would sacrifice them to the gold of the Persians.
Certainly there are some junctures and occasions, when,
in order to act wisely, (nay, I had almost said regu-
larly) it is lawful for a man to dispense with, and
to set himself above the established rules of action.
Themistocles, who knew very well, that in the pre-
sent state of affairs he himself was the only person
capable of commanding, did for that reason make
no scruple of employing bribes and presents to di-
vert his competitor from his purpose: † and ha-
ving thus found means to compensate Epicydes's am-
bition by gratifying his avarice, he procured himself to
be chosen general in his stead. We may here, I think,
very justly apply to Themistocles what Titus Livius
says of Fabius on a like occasion. This great com-
mander finding that at the time, when Hannibal was
in the heart of Italy, the people were going to make
a man of no merit consul, employed all his own cre-
dit, as well as that of his friends, to procure himself
to be continued in the consulship, without being
concerned at the clamour, that might be raised
against him; and he succeeded in the attempt. The
Historian adds, “ || The criticalness of the time,

* Quilibet nautarum vesto-
rumque tranquillo mari guberna-
re potest: ubi orta sæva tempestas
est, ac turbato mari rapitur
vento navis, tum viro et guber-
natore opus est. *Liv.* l. 24. n. 8.

† Χρημασι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐκ-
νίστατο παρὰ τῷ Ἐπικύδῳ.

|| Tempus ac necessitas belli,
ac discrimen summæ rerum, facie-

bant nequis aut in exemplum ex-
quireret, aut suspectum cupiditatis
imperii consulenti haberet. Quin
laudabant potius magnitudinem
animi, quod, cum summo im-
peratore esse opis reip. sciret,
seque cum haud dubiè esse, mi-
noris invidiam suam, si qua ex
re oriretur. quàm utilitatem reip.
fecisset. *Liv.* l. 24. n. 9.

the

XERXES. “ the conjuncture of affairs, and the extreme danger
 “ the commonwealth was exposed to, were arguments
 “ of such weight, that they prevented any one from
 “ being offended at a conduct, which might appear
 “ to be contrary to rules, and removed all suspicion
 “ of Fabius’s having acted upon any motive of
 “ interest or ambition. On the contrary, the pub-
 “ lick admired his generosity and greatness of
 “ soul, in that, as he knew the commonwealth had
 “ occasion for an accomplished general, and could
 “ not be ignorant or doubtful of his own singular
 “ merit in that respect, he had chosen rather in some
 “ sort to hazard his own reputation, and perhaps
 “ expose his character to the reproaches of envious
 “ tongues, than to be wanting in any service he
 “ could render his country.”

Plut in
 Arist. p.
 322, 323.

The Athenians likewise passed a decree to recall home all their people, that were in banishment. Aristides was one of the number. Themistocles was the man, who by his intrigues and cabals had procured the other to be banished by a sentence of the people : and the judgment, that was given against him, was accompanied with a circumstance, too memorable to be omitted on this occasion. In judgments of this sort, it was the custom of Athens for the citizens to give their suffrages by writing the name of the person in question upon a shell, which in Greek was called *ὀστράκον*, and from whence the word Ostracism is derived. Now at the time, that Aristides’s affair was before the people, a countryman, who could not write, and who did not know Aristides, chanced to make his application to him himself, and desired him to be so kind as write Aristides’s name for him. Did that person, says Aristides to him, ever do you any injury, that you thus give your vote for his condemnation? No, replied the countryman; I do not so much as know him : but they make such a noise in all places with his uprightness and justice, that I am tired with hearing of it.

Aristides

Aristides, without making any reply, calmly took the hell, writ his own name upon it, and returned it to the countryman. When he set out upon his exile, his prayer to the gods was, that they would suffer no misfortune to happen to his country, which should make him regretted. XERXES.

The case however happened not long afterwards, when Xerxes and his army were approaching, the Athenians were afraid, lest Aristides should join their enemies, and lest his credit should carry over a great many others to the side of the Barbarians. But they judged very wrongly of the spirit of their citizen, who was the farthest in the world from entertaining such a perfidious sentiment. Be that as it would, on this extraordinary juncture they thought fit to recall him: and Themistocles was so far from opposing the decree for that purpose, that he promoted it with all his credit and authority. The hatred and division of these great men had nothing in them of that implacable, bitter, and outrageous spirit, which prevailed among the Romans, in the later times of their commonwealth. The danger of the state was the means of their reconciliation, and when their service was necessary to the preservation of the commonwealth, they laid aside all their jealousy and rancour: and we shall see by the sequel, that Aristides was so far from secretly thwarting his antient rival, that he zealously contributed to the success of his enterprizes, and to the advancement of his glory.

The alarm increased in Greece, in proportion as they understood that the Persian army advanced nearer and nearer. If the Athenians and Lacedæmonians had been able to make no other resistance than with their land-forces, Greece had been utterly ruined and reduced to slavery. This exigence taught them how to set a right value upon the prudent fore-sight of Themistocles, who upon some other pretext had procured the building of an hundred galleys. Instead of judging like the rest of the Athenians, who

XERXES. looked upon the victory of Marathon as the end of the war, he on the contrary looked upon it rather as the beginning, or as the signal of still fiercer engagements, for which he ought to prepare the Athenian people : and from that very time he began to think of raising Athens to a superiority over Sparta, which for a long time had been the mistress of all Greece. To attain this end he judged it expedient to turn all the Athenian strength to maritime affairs, seeing very clearly, that, considering how little her power was by land, she had no other way of rendering herself necessary to her allies, or formidable to her enemies. His opinion herein prevailed among the people in spite of the opposition of Miltiades, whose difference of sentiment undoubtedly arose from the little probability there was, that a people entirely unacquainted with naval engagements, and that were only capable of fitting out and arming very small vessels, should be able to withstand so formidable a power, as that of the Persians, who had both a numerous land-army and a fleet of above a thousand ships.

Plut. in
Themist.
p. 113.

The Athenians had some silver mines in a part of Attica, called Laurium ; and all the revenues and products thereof used to be distributed amongst them. Themistocles had the courage to propose to the people, that they should abolish these distributions, and employ that money in building vessels with three banks of oars, in order to make war upon the people of Ægina, against whom he endeavoured to rekindle and enflame their antient jealousy. No people are ever very willing to sacrifice their own particular interests to the general utility of the publick : for they seldom have so much generosity or publick spirit, as to purchase the welfare or preservation of the state at their own expence. The Athenian people however did it upon this occasion : being touched with the lively remonstrances of Themistocles, they consented, that the money which arose from the
product

product of the mines should be employed in the building of an hundred galleys. Against the arrival of Xerxes they doubled the number, and to that fleet was owing the preservation of Greece.

When they came to the point of naming a general for the command of the navy, the Athenians, who alone had furnished the two thirds of it, laid claim to that honour, as appertaining to them, and their pretensions were certainly just and well grounded. It happened, however, that the suffrages of the allies all concurred in favour of Eurybiades a Lacedæmonian. Themistocles, tho' very aspiring after glory, thought it incumbent upon him on this occasion to neglect his own interests for the common good of the country : and giving the Athenians to understand, that, provided they behaved themselves with courage and conduct, all the Grecians would quickly desire to confer the command upon them of their own accord, he persuaded them to consent, as he would do himself, to yield that point at present to the Spartans. It may justly be said, that this prudent moderation in Themistocles was another means of saving the state. For the allies threatened to separate themselves from them, if they refused to comply ; and if that had happened, Greece must have been inevitably ruined.

Her. 1. 8.
c. 2, 3.

S E C T. V.

The battle of Thermopylae. The death of Leonidas.

THE only thing, that now remained to be discussed, was to know in what place they should resolve to meet the Persians, in order to dispute their entrance into Greece. The people of Thessaly represented, that as they were the most exposed, and in the way to be first attacked by the enemy, it was but reasonable, that their defence and security, on which the safety of all Greece so much depended, should first be provided for ; without which they

A. M.
3524.
Ant. J. C.
480.
Her. 1. 7.
c. 172,
173.

XERXES. should be obliged to take other measures, that would be contrary to their inclinations, but yet absolutely necessary, in case their country was left unprotected and defenceless. It was hereupon resolved, that ten thousand men should be sent to guard the passage, which separates Macedonia from Thessaly, near the river Peneus, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. But Alexander, the son of Amintas, king of Macedonia, having given them to understand, that if they waited for the Persians in that place, they must inevitably be oppressed by their numbers, they retired to Thermopylæ. The Thessalians, finding themselves thus abandoned, without any farther deliberation submitted to the Persians.

Her. c. Thermopylæ is a strait, or narrow pass, of mount
175, 177. Cæta between Thessaly and Phocis, which is but twenty five foot broad, which therefore may be defended by a small number of forces, and which was the only way, through which the Persian land-army could enter Achaia, and come to besiege Athens. This was the place, where the Grecian army thought fit to wait for the enemy: the person who commanded it was Leonidas, one of the two kings of Sparta.

Ibid. c. Xerxes in the mean time was upon his march;
108, 132. who had given orders for his fleet to follow him along the coast, and to regulate their motions according to the motions of the land-army. Wherever he came, he found victuals and refreshments prepared before-hand pursuant to the orders he had sent: and every city he arrived at gave him a magnificent entertainment, which cost immense sums of money. The vast expence of these treats gave occasion to a witty saying of a certain citizen of Abdera, a city in Thrace, who, when the king was gone, said; they ought to thank the gods, that he did but eat one meal a day.

Her. l. 8. In the same country of Thrace, there was a
c. 116. prince, who shewed an extraordinary greatness of soul

foul on this occasion : it was the king of the Bifaltes. XERXES.
 Whilst all the other princes ran into servitude, and
 basely submitted to Xerxes, he bravely refused to re-
 ceive his yoke, or to obey him. Not being in a
 condition to resist him with open force, he retired to
 the top of the mountain Rhodope, into an inaccessi-
 ble place, and forbid all his sons, who were six in
 number, to carry arms against Greece. But they,
 either out of fear of Xerxes, or out of curiosity to
 see so important a war, followed the Persians in
 contradiction to their father's injunction. On their
 return home, their father to punish so direct a diso-
 bedience, condemned all his sons to have their eyes
 put out. Xerxes continued his march through
 Thrace, Macedonia and Theffaly, and found every
 thing yield and ply before him till he came to the
 streight of Thermopylæ.

One cannot see without the utmost astonishment, Paus. l. 10. p. 645.
 with what an handful of troops the Grecians oppo-
 sed the innumerable army of Xerxes. We find a
 particular computation of their number in Pausanias.
 All their forces joined together, amounted only to
 eleven thousand two hundred men. Of which
 number four thousand only were employed at Ther-
 mopylæ to defend the passage. But these soldiers,
 adds the historian, were all determined to a man,
 either to conquer, or to die. And what is it,
 that an army of such resolution is not able to ac-
 complish.

When Xerxes advanced near the streights of Ther- Her. l. 7. c. 207
 mopylæ, he was strangely surprized to find, that —231.
 they were prepared to dispute his passage. He had Diod. l. 11. p. 5.
 always flattered himself, that on the first hearing of
 his arrival, the Grecians would betake themselves 10.
 to flight ; nor could he ever be persuaded to believe,
 what Demaratus had told him from the beginning
 of his project, that at the first pass he came to, he
 would find his whole army stopped by an handful
 of men. He sent out a spy before him to take a

XERXES. view of the enemy. The spy brought him word, that he found the Lacedæmonians out of their intrenchments, and that they were diverting themselves with military exercises, and combing their hair: this was the Spartan manner of preparing themselves for battle.

Plut. in
Lacon.
Apoph.
p. 225.

Xerxes, still entertaining some hopes of their flight, waited four days on purpose to give them time to retreat. And in this interval of time he used his utmost endeavours to gain Leonidas by making him magnificent promises, and assuring him, that he would make him master of all Greece, if he would come over to his party. Leonidas rejected his proposition with scorn and indignation. Xerxes having afterwards writ to him, that he should deliver him up his arms; Leonydas, in a stile and spirit truly laconical, answered him in two words: *Come thyself and take them.* There was now nothing left to be done, but to prepare themselves to engage the Lacedæmonians. Xerxes first commanded his Median forces to march against them, with orders to take them all alive and bring them to him. These Medes were not able to stand the shock of the Grecians; and being shamefully put to flight*, they shewed, says Herodotus, that Xerxes had a great many men, and but few soldiers. The next, that were sent to face the Spartans, were those Persians, called the immortal band, which made up a body of ten thousand men; and were the best troops in the whole army. But these had no better success than the former.

Ἀντίγραψι,
Μαλὸν
λαίβε.

Xerxes, out of all hopes of being able to force his way through troops, that were so determined to conquer or be killed, was extremely perplexed, and could not tell what resolution to take, when an inhabitant of the country came to him, and

* Ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἰσι,
ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες.

Quod multi homines essent,
pauci autem viri.

discovered a secret winding * by-path, up to an eminence, which overlooked and commanded the Spartan forces. He quickly dispatched a detachment thither, which marching all night, arrived there at the break of day, and possessed themselves of that advantageous situation.

The Greeks were soon advertised of this misfortune : and Leonidas seeing, that it was now impossible to bear up against the enemy, obliged the rest of the allies to retire, but stayed himself with his three hundred Lacedæmonians, all resolved to die with their leader, who being told by the oracle, that either Lacedæmon, or her king must necessarily perish, determined without the least difficulty or hesitation to sacrifice himself for his country. These brave Spartans then did not feed themselves with any hopes either of conquering or escaping, but looked upon Thermopylæ as their grave and burying-place. The king, exhorting his men to take some nourishment, and telling them at the same time, that they would sup together with Pluto, they all with one accord set up a shout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet. When they were thus filled with an extraordinary ardour, he led them on to battle. The shock was exceeding violent and bloody. Leonidas himself was one of the first that fell. The efforts of courage his Lacedæmonians performed to defend his dead body, were incredible. At length, not vanquished, but oppressed by numbers, they all fell, except one man, who escaped to Sparta, where he was treated as a coward and traitor to his country, and could find no body, that would keep company or converse with him. But a little time afterwards he made a glorious reparation

* When the Gauls, two hundred years after this, came to invade Greece, they possessed themselves of the freights of Thermopylæ by means of the same by-path, which the Grecians had still neglected to secure. Pausan. l. 1. p. 7, & 8.

XERXES. of his fault at the battle of Platæa, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner.
 Her. 1. 7. Xerxes enraged to the last degree against Leonidas
 c. 238. for daring to make head against him, caused his dead body to be hung up on a gallows, and so covered himself with shame, whilst he thought to fix dishonour on his enemy.

Some time after these transactions by order of the Amphictyones a magnificent monument was erected just by Thermopylæ to the honour of these brave defenders of Greece, and upon the monument were put two inscriptions, one of which was general and related to all those, that died at Thermopylæ, importing, that the Greeks of Peloponnesus, to the number only of four thousand, had made head against the Persian army, which consisted of three millions of men: the other related to the Spartans in particular. It was composed by the poet Simonides, and is very remarkable for its simplicity. It is as follows:

* Ω ξεῖν, ἄγγελλον Λακεδαιμονίαις, ὅτι τῇ δὲ
 Κίρμιθα, τοῖς κίονι περιόρμαινόμενοις.

that is to say: *Go, passenger, and carry the news to Lacedæmon, that we died here in obedience to her sacred laws.* Forty years afterwards, Pausanias, who obtained the victory of Platæa, caused the bones of Leonidas to be carried from Thermopylæ to Sparta, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory: near to which was likewise another erected to the honour of Pausanias. Every year at these tombs was a funeral oration pronounced to the honour of these heroes, and a publick celebration of games ob-

* *Pari animo Lacedæmonii in Thermopylis occiderunt, in quos Simonides.*

*Dic, hospes, Spartæ nos te hic vidisse jacentes,
 Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.*

Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. i. n. 101.

served,

served, wherein none but Lacedæmonians had a right Xerxes. to partake, in order to shew, that they alone were concerned in the glory obtained at Thermopylæ.

Xerxes in that affair lost above twenty thousand Her. 1. 8. men, among which were two of the king's own bro- c. 24. 25. thers. He was very sensible, that so great a loss, which was a manifest proof of the courage of their enemies, was capable of alarming and discouraging his soldiers. In order therefore to conceal the knowledge of it from them, he caused all his men, that were killed in that action, except a thousand, whose bodies he ordered to be left upon the field, to be thrown together into large holes, which were secretly made and covered over afterwards with earth and herbs. This stratagem succeeded very ill: for when the soldiers in his fleet, being curious to see the field of battle, obtained leave to come thither for that purpose, the trick he had practised served rather to discover his own littleness of soul, than to cover the number of the slain.

Being frightened with a victory that had cost him Her. 1. 7. so dear, he asked Demaratus, if the Lacedæmonians c. 134. had many such soldiers. That prince told him, that 137. the Spartan republick had a great many cities belonging to it, of which all the inhabitants were exceeding brave; but that the inhabitants of Lacedæmon, who were properly called Spartans, and who were about eight thousand in number, surpassed all the rest in bravery, and were all of them like those, that had fought under Leonidas.

I must step back again a little, and speak a word or two more upon the battle of Thermopylæ, the issue of which, having been fatal in appearance, might make an impression upon the minds of the readers to the disadvantage of the Lacedæmonians, and occasion their courage to be looked upon as the effect of a presumptuous temerity, or a desperate resolution.

That

XERXES.

Diod. l.

11. P. 9.

That action of Leonidas, with his three hundred Spartans, was not the effect of rashness or despair, but was a wise and noble piece of conduct, as Diodorus Siculus has taken care to represent to us, in the magnificent encomium he has made of the glory of that famous engagement, to which he ascribes the success of all the ensuing victories and campaigns. Leonidas knowing, that Xerxes marched at the head of all the forces of the east, in order to overwhelm and crush a little country by the dint of his numbers, rightly conceived by the superiority of his genius and understanding, that if they pretended to make the success of that war consist in opposing force to force and numbers to numbers, all the Grecian nations assembled together would never be able to equal the Persians, or to dispute the victory with them; that it was therefore necessary to point out to Greece another way of safety and preservation whilst she was under these alarms; and that they ought to shew the whole universe, who had all their eyes turned upon them, what glorious things may be done, when magnanimity is engaged against bodily force, true courage and bravery against a blind impetuosity, the love of liberty against a tyrannical oppression, and a few, disciplined, veteran troops against a confused multitude, tho' never so numerous. These brave Lacedæmonians thought it became them, who were the choicest soldiers of the chief people of Greece, to devote themselves to certain death, in order to make the Persians sensible how difficult it is to reduce a free people to slavery, and to teach the rest of their countrymen by their example either to vanquish, or to perish.

I do not fetch these sentiments from my own invention, or ascribe them to Leonidas without foundation: they are plainly comprized in that short answer, which that worthy king of Sparta made a certain Lacedæmonian; who, being astonished at the generous resolution the king had taken, spoke to him

him in this manner : “ Is it possible then, fir, that
 “ you can think of marching with an handful of
 “ men against such a mighty and innumerable ar-
 “ my ? If we are to reckon upon numbers”, replied
 Leonidas, “ all the people of Greece together would
 “ not be sufficient ; since a small part of the Persian
 “ army is equal to all her inhabitants : but if we
 “ are to reckon upon courage, my little troop is
 “ more than sufficient.”

The event shewed the justness of this prince’s senti-
 ments. That illustrious example of courage asto-
 nished the Persians, and gave new spirit and vigour
 to the Grecians. The lives then of this heroick lea-
 der and his brave troop were not thrown away, but
 were usefully employed ; and their death produced a
 double effect, more great and lasting, than they
 themselves had imagined. On one hand, it was the
 seed, as it were, of their ensuing victories, which
 made the Persians for ever after lay aside all
 thoughts of coming again to attack Greece ; so that
 during the seven or eight succeeding reigns, there
 was neither any prince, who durst entertain such a
 design, nor any flatterer in his court, who durst pro-
 pose the thing to him. On the other hand, such a
 signal and exemplary instance of intrepidity made an
 indelible impresson upon all the rest of the Grecians,
 and left a persuasion deeply rooted in their hearts,
 that they were able to subdue the Persians, and to
 pull down their vast empire. Cimon was the man,
 who made the first attempt of that kind, and did it
 with success. Agesilaus afterwards pushed that en-
 terprize further, and carried it so far, that he made
 the great monarch tremble in his palace at Susa.
 Alexander at last accomplished the design with an
 incredible facility. He never had the least doubt,
 no more than the Macedonians, who followed him,
 or the whole country of Greece, that chose him for
 general on that expedition, but that with thirty thou-
 sand men he could overturn the Persian empire,
 since

XERXES.
 Plut. in
 Lac.
 Apoph.
 p. 225.

Xen. 1. 8. since all the united forces of the east had been stopped by three hundred Spartans.

S E C T. VI.

A naval engagement near Artemisa.

Her. 1. 8.
c. 1—18.
Diod. 1.
11. p. 10,
& 11.

THE very same day, on which passed the glorious action at Thermopylae, there was likewise an engagement at sea between the two fleets. That of the Grecians, exclusive of the little galleys and small boats, consisted of two hundred and seventy one vessels. This fleet had lain by near Artemisa, a promontory of Euboea upon the northern coast towards the streights. That of the enemy, which was much more numerous, was near the same place, but had lately been harrassed with a violent tempest, that had destroyed above four hundred of their vessels. Notwithstanding this loss, as it was still vastly superior in number to that of the Grecians, which they were preparing to fall upon, they detached two hundred of their vessels with orders to wait about Euboea, to the end that none of the enemies' vessels might be able to escape them. The Grecians having got intelligence of that separation, immediately set sail in the night time, in order to attack that detachment in the dawning of the morning. But having not met with that, they went towards the evening and fell upon the bulk of the enemy's fleet, which they treated very roughly. Night coming on, they were obliged to separate, and both parties retired to their post. But the very night, that parted them, proved more pernicious to the Persians, than the engagement which had preceded, by reason of a violent storm of wind, accompanied with rain and thunder, which distressed and harrassed their vessels till break of day: and the two hundred ships, likewise, that had been detached from their fleet, as we mentioned before, were almost all cast away upon

upon the coasts of Eubœa; it being the will of the gods, says Herodotus, that the two fleets should be brought pretty near to an equality. HER. 1. 8.

The Athenians having the same day received a re-inforcement of fifty three vessels, the Grecians, who were apprized of the wrack, that had happened to a part of the enemies fleet, fell upon the ships of the Cilicians at the same hour, as they had attacked the fleet the day before, and sunk a great number of them. The Persians, being ashamed to see themselves thus insulted by an enemy, that was so much inferior in number, thought fit the next day to appear first in a disposition to engage. The battle was very obstinate this time, and the success pretty near equal on both sides, excepting that the Persians, who were incommoded by the largeness and number of their vessels, sustained the greater loss. Both parties however retired in good order.

All these actions, which passed near Artemisa, did not bring matters to an absolute decision, but contributed very much to animate the Athenians, in that they were convinced by their own experience, that there is nothing really formidable, either in the number and sumptuous decorations of vessels, or in the Barbarians insolent manner of shouting and crying out victory, for men, that know how to come to close conflict, and that have the courage to fight with steadiness and resolution; and that the best way of dealing with such an enemy is to despise all that vain appearance, to come boldly up to them, and to attack them briskly and vigorously without ever flinching or receding. Plut. in Themist. p. 115, 117. Her. 1. 8. c. 21, 22.

The Grecian fleet, having at this time had intelligence of what had passed at Thermopylæ, resolved upon the course they were to take without any farther deliberation. They immediately sailed away from Artemisa, and advancing toward the heart of Greece, they stopped at Salamis, a little isle very near and over against Attica. Whilst the fleet was in

XERXES. in this retreat, Themistocles passed through all the places where it was necessary for the enemies to come to land in order to take in fresh water or other provisions, and in large characters engraved upon the rocks and the stones the following words, which he addressed to the Ionians: *Be of our side, ye people of Ionia: come over to the party of your fathers, who expose their own lives for no other end than to maintain your liberty: or, if you cannot possibly do that, at least do the Persians all the mischief you can, when we are engaged with them, and put their army into disorder and confusion.* By this means Themistocles hoped either to bring the Ionians really over to their party, or at least to render them suspected to the Barbarians. We see, this general had his thoughts always intent upon his business, and neglected nothing, that could contribute to the success of his designs.

Her. 1. 8.
c. 40, 41.

S E C T. VII.

The Athenians abandon their city, which is taken and burnt by Xerxes.

XERXES in the mean time was entered into the country of Phocis by the upper part of Doris, and was burning and plundering the cities of the Phocians. The inhabitants of the Peloponnesus, thinking upon nothing but the saving of their own country, resolved to abandon all the rest, and to bring all the Grecian forces together within the Isthmus, over which they intended to build a strong wall, that should reach from the one sea to the other, which was a space of near five miles English. The Athenians were highly provoked at so base a desertion, seeing themselves ready to fall into the hands of the Persians, and likely to bear the whole weight of their fury and vengeance. Some time before they had consulted the oracle of Delphos, which had given

given them for answer, *that there would be no way of saving the city but by walls of wood.* The sentiments of the people were much divided about this ambiguous expression: some thought it was to be understood to mean the citadel, because that heretofore had been surrounded with wooden palisadoes. But Themistocles gave another sense to the words, which was much more natural, believing it to be shipping, that was meant by the oracle; and from thence endeavoured to shew, that the only measures they had to take were to leave the city empty, and to embark all the inhabitants. But this was a resolution the people would not at all give ear to, as thinking themselves inevitably lost, and not even caring to conquer, when once they had abandoned the temples of their gods and the tombs of their ancestors. Here Themistocles had occasion for all his address and all his eloquence to work upon the people. After he had represented to them, that Athens did not consist either of its walls, or its houses, but of its citizens, and that the saving of these was the preservation of the city, he endeavoured to persuade them by the argument, which was the most capable of making an impression upon them in that unhappy, afflicted, and dangerous condition they were then in, I mean the argument and motive of divine authority, giving them to understand by the very words of the oracle, and by the prodigies, that were come to pass, that their removing for a time from Athens did plainly appear to be the will of the gods.

XENOPHON.
Her. l. 7.
c. 139—
143.

A decree was therefore passed, by which, in order to soften what appeared so hard in the resolution of deserting the city, it was ordained, “ that Athens should be given up in trust into the hands, and committed to the keeping and protection of Minerva, patroness of the Athenian people; that all such inhabitants, as were able to bear arms, should go on ship-board; and that every citizen should

Her. l. 8.
c. 51—54.
Plut. in
Themist.
p. 117.

Xenias. " should provide, as well as he could for the safety
 " and security of his wife, children and slaves."

Plut. in
 Cim. p.
 481.

The extraordinary behaviour of Cimon, who was at this time very young, was of great weight on this singular occasion. He, together with his companions, with a gay and cheerful countenance, went publickly along the street of the Ceramicus to the citadel, in order to consecrate a bit of a bridle, which he carried in his hand, in the temple of Minerva, designing to make the people understand by this religious and affecting ceremony, that they had no farther business with the accoutrements appertaining to land-forces, and that it behoved them now to betake themselves entirely to the sea. After he had made an offering of this bit, he took one of the shields, that hung up on the wall of the temple, paid his devotions to the goddess, went down to the water-side, and was the first, who by his example inspired the greatest part of the people with confidence and resolution, and encouraged them to embark.

The major part of them sent their fathers and mothers, that were old, together with their wives and children to the city of * Trezene, the inhabitants of which, received them with great humanity and generosity. For they made an ordinance that they should be maintained at the expence of the publick, and assigned for each person's subsistence two Oboli a day, which were worth about two pence half-penny English money. Besides this, they permitted the children to gather fruit, where-ever they pleased, or where-ever they came, and moreover settled a fund for the payment of the masters, who had the care of their education. What a beautiful thing it is to see a city, exposed, as this was, to the greatest dangers and calamities,

* This was a small city situate upon the sea-side in that part of the Peloponnesus, called Argolis.

extend her care and generosity in the very midst of **XERXES.** such alarms, even to the education of other people's children!

When all the citizens of Athens came to embark, so moving and melancholy a spectacle drew tears from the eyes of all that were present, and at the same time occasioned great admiration with regard to the steadiness and courage of those men, who sent their fathers and mothers another way and to other places, and who, without being moved either at their grief and lamentations, or at the tender embraces of their wives and children, passed over with so much firmness and resolution to Salamin. But that, which extremely raised and augmented the general compassion, was the great number of old men, that they were forced to leave in the city on account of their age and infirmities, and of which many voluntarily remained there, on a motive of religion, believing the cittadel to be the thing meant by the oracle in the fore-mentioned ambiguous expression of wooden walls. There was no creature, (for history has judged this circumstance worthy of being recorded,) there was no creature, I say, even to the very domestick animals, but what took part in this publick mourning; nor was it possible for a man to see those poor creatures run howling and crying after their masters, who were going a ship-board, without being touched and affected. Among all the rest of these animals, particular notice is taken of a dog belonging to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, which not being able to endure to see himself abandoned by his master, jumped into the sea after him, and continued swimming as near as he could to the vessel, his master was on board of, till he landed quite spent at Salamin, and died the moment after upon the shore. In the same place, even in Plutarch's time, they used to shew the spot, wherein they pretended this faithful animal was buried, and

XERXES. it was known by the name of the *dog's burying-place*.

Her. l. 8. Whilst Xerxes was continuing his march, some
c. 16. deserters from Arcadia came and joined his army. The king having asked them, what the Grecians were then doing, was extremely surprized, when he was told, that they were employed in seeing the games and combats, that the people were then celebrating in Olympia: and his surprize was still increased, when he understood, that the victor's reward in those engagements was only a crown of olive. What men must they be, cried one of the Persian nobles with great wonder and astonishment, that are affected only with mere honour, and not with money!

Ibid. Xerxes had sent off a considerable detachment of
c. 35—39. his army to go and plunder the temple at Delphos,
Diod. l. in which he knew there was an immense treasure,
11. p. 12. being resolved to treat Apollo with no more favour than the other gods, whose temples he had pillaged. If we may believe what Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus say of this matter, as soon as ever this detachment advanced near the temple of Minerva, who was surnamed the Provident, the air was filled with a sudden darkness, and a violent tempest arose, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder and lightning: and two huge rocks having severed themselves from the mountain, fell upon the Persian troops, and crushed the greatest part of them.

Her. l. 2. The other part of the army marched towards the
c. 50—54. city of Athens, which was deserted by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens, who had retired into the citadel, where they defended themselves with an incredible resolution, till they were all killed, and would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatsoever. Xerxes entirely burnt the city and all its temples. Pausanias informs us, that in after-times the Athenians purposely left some of those temples in the condition, to which the Persians

had

had reduced them, and would not rebuild them, to XERXES the end that those sacred ruins might ever remain, as perpetual and subsisting motives of the irreconcilable hatred, that ought to be kept up between the Greeks and the Barbarians.

Xerxes immediately dispatched a courier to Susa to carry the agreeable news of his success to Artabanes, his uncle : and at the same time sent him a great number of pictures and statues. Those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the antient deliverers of Athens, were sent among the rest. One of the Antiochus's, king of Syria, (I do not know which of them, nor at what time it was) sent back these two pictures to the Athenians, being persuaded he could not possibly make them a more acceptable present.

S E C T. VIII.

*The battle of Salamin. Xerxes's hasty return into Asia.
The characters of Themistocles and Aristides. The
defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily.*

AT this time a division arose among the commanders of the Grecian fleet ; and the confederates, in a council of war, which was held for that purpose, were of very different sentiments concerning the place, that was to be resolved upon, for engaging the enemy. Some of them, and indeed the major part, at the head of whom was Eurybiades, the generallissimo of the fleet, were for having them advance near the Isthmus of Corinth, to the end that they might be nearer the land-army, which was posted there for the guarding of that passage under the command of Cleombrotus, who was Leonidas's brother, and that they might likewise have it more in their power to defend the Peloponnesus. Others of them, at the head of whom was Themistocles, alleged, that it would be a betraying of their country to abandon so advantageous a post, as that of


Her. l. 8.
c. 56, & 65.
Plut. in
Themist.
P. 117.

XERXES. Salamin. And as the last mentioned general was speaking with a good deal of warmth in the defence of his opinion, Eurybiades lifted up his cane over him in a menacing manner. *Strike*, says the Athenian, unmoved at the insult, *but bear me*: and continuing his discourse proceeded to shew of what importance it was for the fleet of the Grecians, whose vessels were lighter, and much fewer in number than those of the Persians, to give battle in such a streight, as that of Salamin was, which would render the enemy incapable of using a great part of their forces. Eurybiades, who could not help being touched with this extraordinary instance of moderation in Themistocles, submitted to his reasons, or at least complied with his opinion, for fear the Athenians, whose ships made up above one half of the fleet, should separate themselves from the allies, as their general had taken occasion to insinuate.

Her. 1. 8.
c. 67-70. A council of war was likewise held on the side of the Persians, in order to determine whether they should hazard a naval engagement, Xerxes himself being come to the fleet to take the advice of his captains and officers; who were all unanimous in their suffrages for giving of battle, because they knew it was agreeable to the king's inclination. Queen Artemisa was the only person, who opposed that resolution. She represented the dangerous consequences of engaging with a people, that was more conversant and more expert in maritime affairs than the Persians were; alledging, that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their army at land; whereas by drawing out the war into length, and by their advancing nearer the Peloponnesus they should create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, or rather augment the division, that was already very great amongst them; that the confederates in that case would not fail to separate from one another in order to go and defend each of them his own country and territory; and

and that then the king without difficulty, and almost XERXES.
without striking a stroke, might make himself master of all Greece. This advice, though exceeding prudent, was not followed: and the resolution that was taken, was to give battle and risk a sea-engagement.

Xerxes, imputing the ill success of all his former engagements, which they had had at sea, to his own absence, was resolved to be witness of this from the top of an eminence, where he caused a throne to be erected for that purpose. The king being thus placed in the sight of his navy, might perhaps contribute in some measure to animate his forces: but there is another way of doing it, which is much more sure and effectual, by the prince's real presence, I mean, and example, when he himself shares in the danger, and by that means shews himself worthy of being the soul and head of a brave and numerous body of men, that are ready to die in his service. A prince, that has not this sort of courage and firmness, which nothing can shake, and which even rises and encreases by danger, may nevertheless be endued with other excellent qualities, but then he is by no means proper to command an army. No qualification whatsoever can supply the want of courage in a general: and the * more he labours to shew the appearance of it, when he has not the reality, the more he discovers his cowardise and fear. There is, it must be owned, a vast difference between a general officer, and a simple soldier. Xerxes ought not to have exposed his person otherwise than as becomes a prince: that is to say, as the head, not as the hand: as he, whose business it is to direct and give orders, not as those, who are appointed to execute. But to keep himself entirely at a distance from danger, and to

 Quanto magis occultare ac abdere pavorem nitebantur, manifestius pavidī. Tacit. Hist.

XERXES. act no other part than that of a spectator, was really renouncing the quality and office of a general.

Her. 1. 8. Themistocles knowing, that some of the commanders in the Grecian fleet still entertained thoughts of sailing towards the Isthmus, contrived to have notice given under-hand to Xerxes, that, as the Grecian allies were now assembled together in one place, it would be an easy matter for him to subdue and destroy them all together; whereas, if they once separated from one another, as they were going to do, he might never meet with another opportunity so favourable. The king gave into this sentiment; and immediately commanded a great number of his vessels to surround Salamin by night, in order to make it impracticable for the Greeks to quit their post.

Plut. in
Arist.

p. 323.

Her. 1. 8.

c. 78 - 82.

No body among the Grecians perceived that their army was thus encompassed. Aristides came by night-time from Ægina, where he had some forces under his command, and with very great danger crossed through the whole fleet of the enemies. When he came up to Themistocles's tent, he took him aside, and spoke to him in the following manner: "If we are wise, Themistocles, we shall
" from hence-forward lay aside that vain and childish
" dissention, that has hitherto divided us, and
" shall strive with a more noble and useful emulation,
" on, which of us shall render the best service to
" his country, you by commanding and doing the
" duty of a wise and able captain, and I by obeying
" your orders, and by assisting you with my
" person and advice." He then informed him of the army's being surrounded with the ships of the Persians, and warmly exhorted him to give them battle without delay. Themistocles, extremely astonished at such a greatness of soul, and such a noble and generous frankness, was somewhat ashamed, that he had suffered himself to be thus surpassed by his rival, but without being ashamed to own it, he promised

misfed Aristides, that he would henceforward imitate XERXES. his generosity, and even exceed it, if it were possible, throughout the rest of his conduct. Then, after having imparted to him the stratagem he had imagined to deceive the Barbarian, he desired him to go in person to Eurybiades, in order to convince him that there was no other means of safety for them, than that of engaging the enemy by sea at Salamin; which commission Aristides executed with pleasure and success: for he was in great credit and esteem in the opinion of that general.

They began then on both sides to prepare themselves for the battle. The Grecian fleet consisted of three hundred and eighty sail of ships, which in every thing followed the direction and orders of Themistocles. Now, as nothing escaped this Athenian's foresight, and as he, like an able commander, knew how to improve every circumstance and incident to advantage, before he would begin the engagement he waited till a certain wind, which rose regularly every day at a certain hour, and which was entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as this wind rose, the signal was given for battle. The Persians, who knew that their king had his eyes upon them, advanced with such a courage and impetuosity, as were capable of striking an enemy with terror. But the heat of the first attack quickly abated, when they came to be engaged. Every thing was contrary to, and disadvantageous for them: the wind, which blew directly in their faces; the height, and the heaviness of their vessels, which could not move and turn without great difficulty, and even the number of their ships likewise, which was so far from being advantageous to them, that it only served to embarrass them in a place so strait and narrow, as that they fought in: whereas on the side of the Grecians every thing was done with order and measure, without hurry, and without confusion; because every thing was subject and obedient to the

XERXES. direction of one commander. The Ionians, whom Themistocles had advertized by characters engraven upon stones along the coasts of Euboea to remember from whom they derived their original, were the first, that betook themselves to flight, and were quickly followed by the rest of the fleet. But queen Artemisa distinguished herself by incredible efforts of resolution and courage, so that Xerxes, who saw in what manner she had behaved herself, cried out, * that the men had behaved like women in this engagement, and that the women had shewed the courage of men. The Athenians, being enraged that a woman had dared to appear in arms against them, had promised a reward of ten thousand drachmas to any one, that should be able to take her alive: but she had the good fortune to escape their pursuits. If they had chanced to have taken her, surely she could deserve nothing less from them than the highest commendations, and the most honourable and generous treatment.

Such was the success of the battle of Salamin, one of the most memorable actions, which we find recorded in antient history, and which has, and will render the name and courage of the Grecians famous through all generations. There was a great number of the Persian ships taken, and still a much greater sunk upon this occasion. Many of their allies, who dreaded the king's cruelty no less than the rage of the enemy, made the best of their way into their own country.

Themistocles, in a secret conversation which he had with Aristides, proposed to his consideration, in order to sound him and to learn his true sentiments, whether it would not be proper for them to

* Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες, γυναικὶ μῆν
γυναικὶς αἷμα ὡς γυναικὶς, ἀνδρὶς.

Artemisia inter primos duces,
belli in acerrimè ciebat. Quippe,

ut in viro muliebrem timorem,
ita in muliere virilem audaciam
cerneres. *Justin.* l. 2. c. 12.

nd some vessels to break down the bridge, which Xerxes had caused to be built, to the end, says he, that we may take Asia into Europe: but though he made this proposition, yet in his own mind he was far from approving it. Aristides, believing him to be earnest, argued very warmly and strenuously against any such project, and represented to him how dangerous it was to reduce so powerful an enemy to despair, from whom it was their business to deliver themselves as soon as possible. Themistocles seemed to be prevailed upon by his reasons; and in order to hasten the king's departure, he contrived to have him secretly advertised, that the Grecians designed to break down the bridge. The point Themistocles seems to have had in view by this false confidence, was to fortify himself with Aristides's opinion, which was of great weight, against that of the other generals, in case they were inclined to go and break down the bridge. Perhaps too he might aim at guarding himself by this means against the ill-will of his enemies, who might one day accuse him of treason before the people, if ever they came to know that he had been the author of that secret advice to Xerxes.

This prince, being frightened at the hearing of such news, made the best use he could of his time, and set out by night, leaving Mardonius behind him with an army of three hundred thousand men, in order to reduce Greece, if he was able. The Grecians, who expected that Xerxes would have come to another engagement the next day, having learnt that he was fled, pursued him as fast as they could, but to no purpose. They had destroyed in the fore-mentioned battle two hundred of the enemy's ships, besides those which they took from them. The remainder of the Persian fleet, after having suffered extremely by the winds in their passage, retired towards the coast of Asia, and entered into the port of Cuma, a city

Her. 1. 8.

c. 115
—120.

Her. 1. 8.

c. 130.

XERXES. city in Eolia, where they passed the winter, and never ventured afterwards to return into Greece.

Xerxes took the other part of his army along with him, and went by the way of the Hellespont. As no provisions had been prepared for them beforehand, they underwent great hardships during their whole march, which lasted five and forty days. After having eaten up and consumed all the fruit they could meet with, the soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. This occasioned a great sickness in the army: and great numbers died of a looseness and the plague.

The king, through eagerness and impatience to make his escape, left his army behind him, and travelled on before with a small retinue, in order to reach the bridge with the greater expedition: but when he arrived at the place, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the waves, which a great tempest had occasioned, and was reduced to the necessity of crossing over in a fishing-boat.

* What an instructive spectacle was this, in order to shew mankind the mutability of all earthly things, and the instability of human greatness, to see a prince, whose armies and fleets the land and sea were scarce able to contain a little while before, now stealing away in a poor small boat almost without any servants or attendants! Such was the issue and success of Xerxes's expedition against Greece.

If we compare Xerxes with himself at different times and on different occasions, we shall scarcely know him to be the same man. When affairs were under consideration and debate, no person could shew

* *Erat res spectaculo digna, et æstimatione fortis humanæ, rerum varietate miranda, in æquo latentem videre navigio, quem paulo antè vix æquor om-*

ne capiebat; carentem etiam omni terrorem ministerio, cujus exercitus, propter multitudinem, terris graves erant. Justin. l. 2. c. 13.

more courage and intrepidity than this prince: he is XERXES. surprized and even offended, if any one foresees the least difficulty in the execution of his projects, or shews any apprehension concerning events. But when he comes to the point of execution, and to the hour of danger, he flees like a coward, and thinks of nothing but saving his own life and person. Here we have a sensible and evident proof of the difference, that there is between true courage, which is never destitute of prudence; and temerity, which is always blind and presumptuous. A wise and great prince weighs every thing, and examines all circumstances, before he enters into a * war, which is a thing, he neither fears, nor desires; and when the time of action is come, the sight of danger serves only to excite and animate his courage. This order is quite changed and inverted by presumption †; which having introduced assurance and bravery into the place, where wisdom and circumspection ought to preside, does in the same manner place ~~her~~ fear and despair, where courage and intrepidity ought to be exerted.

The first thing the Grecians took care of after the Her. l. 8. battle of Salamin, was to send the first fruits of the c. 122, rich spoil they had taken to Delphos. Cimon, who was 125. then very young, signalized himself in a particular manner in that engagement, and performed actions of such a distinguished and singular valour, as procured him a great reputation, and made him be considered from that time as a citizen, that would be capable of rendering the most important services to his country on future occasions.

But Themistocles was the man that carried off al- Plut. in most all the honour of this victory, which was the Themist. most signal, that ever the Grecians obtained over the P. 120. Persians. The force of truth obliged even those,

* Non times bella, non provocas. *Plin. de Trej.* Fortissimus in ipso discrimine, qui ante discrimen quietissimus. *Tac. hist. l. 1. c. 14.*
 † Ante discrimen feroces, in periculo pavid. *Ibid. c. 68.*
 who

XXVIII. who were the most envious of his glory, to render him this testimony. It was a custom in Greece, that after a battle, the commanding officers should declare, who were the persons, that had the most distinguished themselves therein, by setting down upon a ticket the names of the man, who had merited the first prize, and of him, who had merited the second. On this occasion, by a judgment which shews the good opinion that it is natural for every man to have of himself, each officer concerned, adjudged the first rank of merit to himself, and allowed the second to Themistocles; which was a manifest proof, that he deserved the former in preference to them all.

The Lacedæmonians, having carried him to Sparta, in order to pay him the honours, that were due to his merit, decreed to their general Eurybiades the prize of valour, and to Themistocles that of wisdom, which was a crown of olive both for the one and the other. They likewise made a present to Themistocles of the finest chariot they had in the city; and on his departure sent three hundred young men of the most considerable families to wait upon him to the frontiers of the country: an honour, which before this time they had never shewed to any person whatsoever.

But that which gave him the highest and most exquisite pleasure, were the publick acclamations he received at the first Olympick games, that were celebrated after the battle of Salamin, where all the people of Greece were met together. As soon as he appeared, the whole assembly rose up to do him honour: no body minded the games or the combats; Themistocles was the only spectacle. The eyes of all the company were fixed upon him, and every body was eager to shew him and point him out with the hand to the strangers, that did not know him. He acknowledged afterwards to his friends, that he looked upon that day as the happiest of his life; that he

had

ad never tasted any joy so sensible and so transporting; and that this recompense, which was the genuine XENOPH. fruits of his labours, had exceeded all his desires.

The reader has undoubtedly observed in Themistocles two or three principal strokes of his character, which entitle him to be ranked amongst the greatest of men. The design, which he formed and executed, of turning all the force of Athens to the side of maritime affairs, shewed him to have a superior genius, capable of the largest views, penetrating into futurity, and able to discern the grand and decisive point in business and affairs. As the territory belonging to Athens was but of a barren nature and a small extent, he rightly conceived, that the only way that city had to enrich and aggrandize herself was by sea. And indeed that scheme may justly be looked upon as the source and cause of all those great emergencies and events, which raised the republic of Athens in the sequel to so flourishing a condition.

But, in my opinion, though this wisdom and fore-sight is a most excellent and valuable talent, yet is it infinitely less meritorious than that uncommon temper and moderation, which Themistocles shewed on two critical occasions, when Greece had been utterly undone, if he had listened to the dictates of an ill judged ambition, and had stood upon a false point of honour, as is usual among persons of his age and profession. The first of these occasions was when, notwithstanding the crying injustice, that was committed, both in reference to the republick, of which he was a member, and to his own person, in appointing a Lacedæmonian for chief admiral of the fleet; when, notwithstanding this, I say, he exhorted and prevailed with the Athenians to desist from their pretension, though never so justly founded, in order to prevent the fatal effects, which a division among the confederates must have been necessarily attended with. And what an admirable instance did

XERXES. did he give of his presence of mind and coolness of temper, when the same Eurybiades not only affronted him with harsh and offensive language, but lifted up his cane at him in a menacing posture! Let it be remembered, at the same time, that Themistocles was then but young; that he was full of an ardent ambition for glory; that he was commander of a numerous fleet; and that he had right and reason on his side. How would our young officers behave on the like occasion? Themistocles took all patiently, and the victory of Salamin was the fruits of his patience.

As to Aristides, I shall have occasion in the sequel to speak more fully and largely upon his character, and merit. He was properly speaking the man of the common-wealth: provided that was well and faithfully served, he was very little concerned by whom it was done. The merit of others was far from offending him; and instead of that became his own by the approbation and encouragement he gave it. We have seen him make his way through the enemies fleet, at the peril of his life, in order to give Themistocles some good intelligence and advice: and * Plutarch takes notice, that during all the time the latter had the command, Aristides assisted him on all occasions with his counsel and credit, notwithstanding he had reason to look upon him, not only as his rival, but his enemy. Let us compare this nobleness and greatness of soul with the little spiritedness and meanness of those men, who are so nice, punctilious, and jealous upon the point of command, who are incompatible with their colleagues, using all their attention and industry to gain the glory of every thing to themselves; always ready to sacrifice the publick weal to their own private interests, or to suffer their rivals to commit blunders,

* Πάντα συνέπρατις καὶ συνέβουλος ἦν ποιεῖν τὸν ἔχοντα. In vit. Arist. p. 323.

that they themselves may reap advantage from XERXES. them.

On the very same day as the action of Ther-
mopylæ happened upon, the formidable army of
Carthaginians, which consisted of three hundred thou-
sand men, was entirely defeated by Gelo, tyrant of
Syracuse. Herodotus places this battle on the day,
upon which happened the sea-engagement at Salamin.
The circumstances of that victory in Sicily I have
given an account of in the history of the Cartha-
ginians.

After the battle of Salamin, the Grecians being
returned from pursuing the Persians, Themistocles
run through the isles, which had followed their par-
ty, in order to raise exactions, and to draw money
from them. The first he began with was that of
Andros, from whose inhabitants he required a confi-
derable sum, speaking to them in this manner: *I
come to you accompanied with two powerful divinities,
Persuasion and Force.* The answer they made him
was: *We have likewise two other divinities on our side,
which are no less powerful than yours, and which do
not permit us to give the money you demand of us, Po-
verty and Impotence.* Upon this refusal he made as if
he would besiege them, and threatened that he would
entirely ruin their city. He dealt in the same man-
ner with several other islands, which durst not resist
him, as Andros had done, and drew great sums of
money from them without the privity of the other
commanders: for he was esteemed to be a lover of
money, and to be desirous of encreasing his fortune.

S E C T. IX.

The battle of Plataea.

MARDONIUS, who staid in Greece with a
body of three hundred thousand men, let his
troops pass the winter in Theffaly, and in the spring
following

A. M.
3525.
Ant. J. C.
479.
Her. l. 8.
c. 113
131,
126 -
140, 144

following led them into Boeotia. There was a very famous oracle in this country, the oracle I mean of Lebadia, which he thought proper to consult, in order to know, what would be the success of that war. The priest, in a fit of enthusiasm, which he was seized with, answered in a language, which no body that was present understood, as much as to insinuate, that the oracle would not deign to speak intelligibly to a Barbarian. At the same time Mardonius sent Alexander king of Macedonia, together with several Persian noblemen to Athens, and by them, in the name of his master, made very advantageous proposals to the Athenian people, in order to draw them off from the rest of their allies. The offers he made them were, to rebuild their city, which had been burnt down, to give them a considerable sum of money, to suffer them to live according to their own laws and customs, and to give them the government and command of all Greece. Alexander, as being their antient friend, exhorted them in his own name to lay hold on so favourable an opportunity for settling of their affairs, alledging to them, that they were not in a condition to stand out against a power so formidable as that of the Persians, and so much superior to that of Greece. On the first intelligence of this embassy, the Spartans likewise on their part, sent deputies to Athens, in order to hinder it from taking effect. These were present, when the others had their audience: where, as soon as Alexander had finished his speech, they began in their turn to address themselves to the Athenians, and warmly importuned them not to separate themselves from the body of their allies, nor to desert the common interest of their country, representing to them at the same time, that their union, in the present situation of their affairs, was their whole strength, and the only means that would render Greece invincible. They added farther, that the Spartan commonwealth was very sensibly touch-
ed,

ed at the melancholy state, which the Athenians were in, who were destitute both of houses and retreat, and who for two years together had lost all their harvests; that in consideration of that calamity, she would engage herself during the continuance of the war to maintain and support their wives, their children, and their old men, and to furnish a plentiful supply to all their wants. They concluded by speaking to what related to Alexander, whose discourse, they said, was such, as ought to be expected from one tyrant, who spoke in favour of another; but that he seemed to have forgot, that the people to whom he addressed himself, had shewed themselves on all occasions the most zealous defenders of the common liberty of their country.

Aristides was at this time in office, that is to say, the first of the Archons. As it was therefore his business to answer, he said, that as to the Barbarians, who made silver and gold the chief objects of their esteem, he forgave them for thinking they could corrupt the fidelity of a nation by large bounties and promises: but that he could not help being surprized and affected with some sort of indignation to see, that the Lacedæmonians, regarding only the present distress and necessity of the Athenians, and forgetting their courage and magnanimity, should come to persuade them to persist stedfastly in the defence of the common liberty of Greece by arguments and motives of gain, and by proposing to give them victuals and provision, as a recompence: He desired them to acquaint their republick, that all the gold in the world, was not capable of tempting the Athenians, or of making them desert the defence of the common liberty: that they had such a grateful sense, as they ought to have, of the kind offers, which Lacedæmon had made them; but that they would endeavour to manage their affairs so, as not to be burdensome to any of their allies. Then turning himself towards the ambassadors of Mardonius, and

XERXES. pointing with his hand to the sun: *Be assured*, says he to them, *that as long as that planet shall continue his course, the Athenians will be mortal enemies to the Persians, and will not cease to take vengeance of them for the ravaging of their lands and the burning of their houses and temples.* After which, he desired the king of Macedonia, if he was inclined to be truly their friend, that he would not make himself any more the bearer of such proposals to them, which would only serve to reflect dishonour upon him, without ever producing the intended effect.

Aristides, notwithstanding his having made this plain and peremptory declaration, did not stop there. But that he might still imprint the greater horror of such like proposals, and that he might for ever prohibit all manner of commerce with the Barbarians by a principle of religion, he ordained, that the Athenian priests should denounce anathema's and execrations upon any person whatsoever, that should ever presume to propose the making of any alliance with the Persians, or the breaking of their alliance with the rest of the Grecians.

Her. l. 9.
c. 1—11.
Plut. in
Arist.

When Mardonius had learnt by the answer, which the Athenians had sent him, * that they were to be prevailed upon by no propositions or advantages whatsoever to sell their liberty, he marched with his whole army towards Attica, wasting and destroying whatever he found in his way. The Athenians, not being in a condition to withstand such a torrent, retired to Salamin, and for a second time abandoned their city. Mardonius, still entertaining hopes of bringing them to some terms of accommodation, sent another deputy to them to make the same proposals as before. A certain Athenian, called Lycidas, being of opinion, that they should hearken to what he had to offer, was immediately stoned; and the Athenian

* Posteaquam nullo pretio libertatem his videt venalem, &c.
Jyslin. l. 2. c. 14.

women running at the same time to his house, did XERXES. the same execution upon his wife and children: so detestable a crime did they think it to propose any peace with the Persians. But notwithstanding this they had a respect to the character, wherewith the deputy was invested, and sent him back without offering him any indignity or ill treatment. Mardonius now found that there was no peace to be expected with them. He therefore entered Athens, burnt and demolished every thing, that had escaped their fury the preceeding year, and left nothing standing.

The Spartans, instead of conducting their troops into Attica, according to their engagements, thought only of keeping themselves shut up within the Peloponnesus for their own security, and with that view had begun to build a wall over the Isthmus, in order to hinder the enemy from entering therein, by which means they reckoned they should be safe themselves, and should have no farther occasion for the assistance of the Athenians. The latter hereupon sent deputies to Sparta in order to complain of the slowness and neglect of their allies. But the Ephori did not seem to be much moved at their remonstrances: and as that day was the feast of * Hyacinthus, they spent it in mirth and banquetting, and deferred giving the deputies their answer till the next day. And still procrastinating the affair, as much as they could on various pretexts, they gained ten days time, during which the building of the wall was compleated. And, as they were then just on the point of dismissing the Athenian envoys in a scandalous manner, a private citizen expostulated with them and repre-

* Amongst the Lacedæmonians which was spent in feasting, in the feast of Hyacinthus lasted three sports and spectacles and all kinds of diversions. This festival was days: the first and last of which were days of sorrow and mourning celebrated every year in the month for the death of Hyacinthus; but of August, in honour of Apollo and the second was a day of rejoicing. Hyacinthus.

XERXES. sented to them, how base it would be to treat the Athenians in such a manner, after all the calamities and voluntary losses they had so generously suffered for the common defence of liberty, and all the important services they had rendered to Greece in general. This opened their eyes and made them ashamed of their perfidious design. The very next night following, they sent off, unknown to the Athenian deputies, five thousand Spartans, who had each of them seven Helotæ, or slaves to attend him. In the morning afterwards the deputies renewed their complaints with great warmth and resentment, and were extremely surprized when they were told that the Spartan succours were on their march, and by this time were not far from Attica.

Her. 1. 9. Mardonius had left Attica at this time, and was
c. 12 on his return to the country of Bœotia. As the latter
—76. was an open and flat country, he thought it would be
Plut. in more convenient for him to fight there, than in At-
Arist. p. tica, which was an uneven and rugged country, full
325--330. of hills and narrow passes, and which for that rea-
Diod. 1. son would not allow him space enough for the ran-
11. p. 24, ging of his numerous army in battle-array, nor give
26. room for his cavalry to be of use to him. When
he came back into Bœotia, he encamped by the ri-
ver Asopus. The Grecians followed him thither
under the command of Pausanias, king of Sparta,
and of Aristides general of the Athenians. The
Persian army, according to the account of Herodo-
tus, consisted of three hundred thousand, or, accord-
ing to that of Diodorus, of five hundred thousand
men. That of the Grecians did not amount to
seventy thousand: of which there were but five thou-
sand Spartans; but, as these were accompanied with
thirty five thousand of the Helotæ, (*viz.*) seven for
each Spartan, they made up together forty thousand:
the latter of these were light-armed troops: the
Athenian forces consisted but of eight thousand, and
the troops of the allies made up the remainder.

The

The right wing of the army was commanded by the Spartans, and the left by the Athenians; an honour which the Tegeatæ pretended to, and disputed with them, but in vain.

Whilst all Greece was in suspense, expecting a battle, that should determine their fate, a secret conspiracy, formed in the midst of the Athenian camp by some discontented citizens, who had a mind to overturn their popular government, or to deliver up Greece into the hands of the Persians, gave Aristides a great deal of perplexity and trouble. On this emergency he had occasion for all his prudence: not knowing exactly how many people might be concerned in this conspiracy he contented himself with having eight of them taken up: and of those eight, the only two, against whom he caused indictments to be brought, because they had the most laid to their charge, made their escape out of the camp, whilst their tryal was preparing: there is no doubt to be made but Aristides favoured their escape, for fear he should be obliged to punish them, and that their punishment might occasion some tumult and disorder. The others, that were in custody, he released, leaving them room to believe, that he had found nothing against them, and telling them, that the battle with the enemy should be the tribunal, where they might fully justify their characters, and shew to the world, how unlikely it was, that they had ever entertained a thought of betraying their country. This well timed and wise dissimulation which opened a door to repentance, and forbearing to drive the offenders to despair, appeased all the commotion and quashed the whole affair.

Mardonius, in order to try the Grecians, sent out his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish against them. The Megarians, who were encamped upon a plain, suffered extremely by them; and in spite of all the vigour and resolution, with which they resisted them, they were just going to give way

Plut. in /
Arist.
p. 326.

when a detachment of three hundred Athenians, together with a certain number of bow-men, advanced to their succour. Masistius, the general of the Persian horse, and one of the most considerable noblemen of his country, seeing them advance towards him in good order, made his cavalry face about and attack them. The Athenians stood their ground, and waited to receive them. The shock was very fierce and violent, both sides endeavouring equally to shew by the issue of this encounter, what would be the success of the general engagement. The victory was a long time disputed : but at last Masistius's horse being wounded threw his master, who was quickly after killed ; upon which the Persians immediately fled. As soon as the news of his death reached the Barbarians, it occasioned a general sorrow and consternation. They cut off the hair of their heads, as also the manes of their horses and mules, filling the camp with their cries and lamentations, having lost, as they looked upon him to be, the bravest man of their army.

After this encounter with the Persian cavalry, the two armies continued a good while without coming to any action ; because the sooth-sayers and diviners, upon their inspecting the entrails of their victims, equally foretold both parties, that they should be victorious, provided they acted only upon the defensive, whereas on the other hand they threatened them equally with a total overthrow, if they acted offensively, or made the first attack.

Thus did they spend the space of ten days only in looking at one another. But Mardonius, who was of a fiery, impatient nature, grew very uneasy at so long a delay. Besides, he had only a few days provisions left for his army ; and the Grecians moreover grew every day stronger and stronger by the addition of new troops, that were continually coming to join them. He therefore called a council of war, in order to deliberate and determine, whether they

they should give battle. Artabazes, a nobleman of XERXES. angular merit and great experience, was of opinion, that they should not hazard a battle, but that they should retire under the walls of Thebes, where they would be in a condition to lay in stores of victuals and forage. He alledged, that delays alone would be capable of casting a great damp upon the ardor of the enemies allies ; that they would thereby have time to tamper with them, and might be able to draw some of them off by gold and silver, which they would take care to distribute among the leaders, and among such as had the greatest sway and authority in every respective city ; and that in short this would be both the easiest and surest method of bringing Greece under their subjection. This opinion was very rational and prudent ; but the contrary opinion prevailed ; because it was that, which Mardonius inclined to, whom the rest had not courage to contradict. The result therefore of their deliberations was that they should give battle the next day. Alexander, king of Macedonia, who was on the side of the Grecians in his heart, came secretly about midnight to their camp, and informed Aristides of all that had passed.

Pausanias forthwith gave orders to the officers to prepare themselves for battle, and imparted to Aristides the design he had formed of changing his order of battle, by placing the Athenians in the right wing, instead of the left, in order to their opposing the Persians, with whom they had been accustomed to engage. Whether it was fear, or prudence, that induced Pausanias to propose this new disposition, the Athenians accepted it with pleasure. Nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations, which they made to one another, to acquit themselves bravely and courageously, bidding each other consider, that neither they, nor their enemies, were changed since the battle of Marathon, unless it were, that victory had increased the courage of the Athe-

XERXES. nians, and had dispirited the Persians. We do not fight, (said they) as they do, for a country only or a city, but for the trophies erected at Marathon and at Salamin, that they may not appear to be the work only of Miltiades and of fortune, but the work of the Athenians. Thus reasoning and encouraging one another they went with all the alacrity imaginable to change their post. But Mardonius, upon the intelligence he received thereof, having made the like change in his order of battle, the project was of no advantage, and so both sides ranged their troops again according to their former post and disposition. Thus did all that whole day pass without their coming to any action.

In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that they should decamp from the place they were in, and go seek another, that was more conveniently situated for water. Night being come on, and the officers endeavouring at the head of their corps to make more haste than ordinary to the camp, that was marked out for them, great confusion happened among the troops, some of them going one way and some another, without observing any order or regularity in their marching. At last they stopped near the little city of Plataea.

On the first hearing of the Grecians being gone, Mardonius drew his whole army into order of battle, and pursued the enemy with an hideous shouting and howling of his Barbarian forces, who thought they were marching, not so much in order to fight, as to strip and plunder a flying enemy : and their general likewise, making himself sure of victory, proudly insulted Artabazes, reproaching him with his fearful and cowardly prudence, and with the false notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who never fled, as he pretended, before an enemy ; whereas here was an instance of the contrary. But the general quickly found, this was no false or ill-grounded notion.

on. He happened to fall upon the Lacedæmonians, XERXES.
who were alone and separated from the body of the
Grecian army, to the number of fifty thousand men,
together with three thousand of the Tegeatæ. The
encounter was exceeding fierce and resolute: on both
sides the men fought with the courage of lions; and
the Barbarians perceived that they had to do with
soldiers, who were determined to conquer or to dye
in the field. The Athenian troops, to whom Pausa-
nias sent an officer, were already upon their march
to come and succour him: but those Grecians, who
had taken party with the Persians, to the number
of fifty thousand men, went out to meet them on
their way, and hindered them from proceeding any
farther. Aristides with his little body of men bore
up firmly against them and withstood their attack,
letting them see, how insignificant a superiority of
numbers is against true courage and bravery.

The battle being thus divided into two, and fought
in two different places, the Spartans were the first,
who broke in upon the Persian forces and put them
into disorder. Mardonius, their general, falling
dead of a wound he had received in the engagement,
all his army betook themselves to flight; and those
Grecians, who were engaged against Aristides, did
the same thing, as soon as they understood the Bar-
barians were worsted. These latter ran away to
their former camp, which they had quitted, where
they were sheltered and fortified with an in-
closure of wood. The Lacedæmonians pursued
them thither, and attacked them in their intrench-
ment; but this they did poorly and weakly, like
people, that were not much accustomed to lay sieges,
or to break down walls and fortified places. The
Athenian troops, having advice of this, left off pur-
suing their Grecian adversaries, and came up to the
camp of the Persians, which after several assaults
they carried, and made an horrible slaughter of the
enemy.

XERXES.

Artabazes, who from Mardonius's imprudent management had but too well foreseen the misfortune, that befell them, after having distinguished himself in the engagement and given all possible proofs of his courage and intrepidity, made a timely retreat with the forty thousand men he commanded; and the knowledge of his going off being prevented by the quickness and expedition of his march, he arrived safely at Byzantium, and from thence returned into Asia. Of all the rest of the Persian army there were not four thousand men, that escaped with their lives from that day's slaughter: all were killed and cut to pieces by the Grecians, who by that means delivered themselves at once from all further invasions from that nation, no Persian army having ever appeared since that time on this side of the Hellespont.

A. M.

3525.

Ant. J. C.

479.

Paulan.

l. 5.

p. 552.

This battle was fought on the fourth day of the month * Boedromion, according to the Athenian manner of reckoning. Soon after, the allies, as a testimony of their gratitude to heaven, caused a statue of Jupiter to be made at their joint and common expences, and had it placed in his temple at Olympia. The names of all the several nations of Greece, that were present in the engagement, were engraven on the right side of the pedestal of the statue, the Lacedæmonians first, the Athenians next, and all the rest in order.

Her. l. 9.

c. 77, 78.

One of the principal citizens of Ægina came and addressed himself to Pausanias, desiring him to avenge the indignity, that Mardonius and Xerxes had shewn to Leonidas, whose dead body was hung up on a gallows by their order, and urging him to use Mardonius's body after the same manner. As a farther motive to induce him thereto, he added, that by thus satisfying the manes of those, that were

* *This day answers to the eighth of our September.*

killed at Thermopylæ, he would be sure to immortalize his own name among all the Grecian nations, and make his memory precious to the latest posterity. "Carry thy base counsel some whither else," replied Pausanias. "Thou must have a very wrong notion of true glory, to imagine, that the way for me to acquire it is to make myself like the Barbarians. If the esteem of the people of Ægina is not to be purchased but by such a proceeding, I shall be content with preserving that of the Lacedæmonians only, amongst whom the base and ungenerous pleasure of revenge is never put in comparison with that of shewing clemency and moderation to their enemies, and especially to those, that are dead, and no longer able to defend themselves against them. As for the souls of my departed country-men, they are sufficiently avenged by the death of so many thousand Persians, as were slain upon the spot in the last engagement."

A dispute, which arose between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians about determining, which of the two people should have the prize of valour adjudged to them, as also which of them should have the privilege of erecting a trophy, had like to have sullied all the glory, and imbittered the joy, that their late victory had procured them. They were just on the point of carrying things to the last extremity, and would certainly have decided the difference with their swords, had not Aristides prevailed upon them, by the wisdom of his counsel and reasonings, to refer the determination of the matter to the judgment of the Grecians in general. This proposition being accepted by both parties, and the Greeks being assembled in the very same place in order to decide the contest, Theogiton of Megara, speaking upon the question gave it as his opinion, that the prize of valour ought to be adjudged neither to Athens, nor to Sparta; but to some other city; unless

XERXES.

Plut. in
 Arist.
 P. 431.

XERXES. unless they had a mind to kindle a civil war, which would be more mischievous and fatal than the war they had just put an end to. After he had finished his speech, Cleocritus of Corinth rose up to speak his sentiments of the matter : and when he began, no body doubted but he was going to require that honour to be adjudged to the city, whereof he was a member and a native ; for Corinth was the chief city of Greece in power and dignity after those of Athens and Sparta. But every body was agreeably deceived, when they found, that all his discourse tended to the praise of the Platæans, and that the conclusion he made from the whole was, that in order to extinguish so dangerous a contention, they ought to adjudge the prize to them only, against whom neither of the contending parties could have any grounds of anger or jealousy. This discourse and proposal was received with a general applause by the whole assembly. Aristides immediately assented to it on the part of the Athenians, and Pausanias on the part of the Lacedæmonians.

Her. 1. 9. All parties being thus agreed, before they began
c. 79— to divide the spoil of the enemy, they put fourscore
80. talents * aside for the Platæans, who laid them out in
* 80000 building a temple to Minerva, in erecting a statue to
crowns her honour, and in adorning the temple with cu-
french. rious and valuable paintings, which were still in being in Plutarch's time, that is to say, above six hundred years afterwards, and which were then as fresh, as if they were but just come out of the hands of the painters. As for the trophy which had been another article of the dispute, the Lacedæmonians erected one for themselves in particular, and the Athenians another.

The spoil was immense : in Mardonius's camp they found prodigious sums of money, in gold and silver, besides cups, vessels, beds, tables, necklaces, and bracelets of gold and silver, not to be valued,

or numbered. It is observed by a certain * histori- XERXES.
 an, that these spoils proved fatal to Greece by becom-
 ing the instruments of introducing avarice and lux-
 ury among her inhabitants. According to the reli-
 gious custom of the Grecians before they divided the
 treasure, they appropriated the tithe, or tenth part
 of the whole, to the use of the gods: the rest was
 distributed equally amongst the cities and nations,
 that were concerned in the furnishing of troops: and
 the chief officers who had distinguished themselves in
 the field of battle, were likewise distinguished in this
 distribution. They sent a present of a golden tri-
 pod to Delphos, in the inscription upon which Pau-
 sanias caused these words to be inserted; *That he had* Cor. Nep.
defeated the Barbarians at Plataea, and that in acknow- in Pausan.
ledgment of that victory he had made this present to c. 1.
Apollo.

This arrogant inscription, wherein he ascribed the
 honour both of victory and the offering to himself
 only, offended the Lacedæmonian people, who, in
 order to punish his pride in the very point and place,
 where he thought to exalt himself, as also to do
 justice to their confederates, caused his name to be
 razed out, and that of the cities, which had contri-
 buted to the victory, to be put in the stead of it.
 Too ardent a thirst after glory on this occasion did
 not give him leave to consider, that a man loses no-
 thing by a discreet modesty, which forbears the set-
 ting too high a value upon one's own services, and
 which by screening a man from envy † serves really
 to enhance his reputation.

Pausanias gave still a farther specimen of his
 Spartan spirit and humour at a two-fold entertain-
 ment, which he ordered to be prepared a few days after
 the engagement, one of which was costly and mag-

* Visito Mardonio castra re- luxuria cepit. *Justin.* l. 2. c. 14.
 ferta regalis opulentiae capta, † Ipsa dissimulatione famæ fa-
 unde primùm Græcos, diviso in- mam auxit. *Tacit.*
 ter se auro Persico, divitiarum

XERXES. nificent, in which was served all the variety of delicacies and dainties, that used to be served at Mardonius's table; the other was plain and frugal after the manner of the Spartans. Then comparing the two entertainments together, and observing the difference of them to his officers, whom he had invited on purpose; "What a madness," says he, "was it in Mardonius, who was accustomed to such a luxurious diet, to come and attack a people, like us, that know how to live without all dainties and superfluities, and are masters of our appetites."

Plut. in
Aristid.

P.331,332

All the Grecians sent in common to Delphos to consult the oracle, concerning the sacrifice they intended to offer. The answer they received from the gods was, that they should erect an altar to *Jupiter Liberator*; but that they should take care not to offer any sacrifice upon it, before they had extinguished all the fire in the country, because it had been polluted and profaned by the Barbarians; and that they should come as far as Delphos to fetch pure fire, which they were to take from that altar, called, the common altar.

This answer being brought to the Grecians from the oracle, the generals immediately dispersed themselves throughout the whole country, and caused all the fires to be extinguished: and Euchiadas, who was a citizen of Platæa, having taken upon himself to go and fetch the sacred fire with all possible speed and expedition, made the best of his way to Delphos. On his arrival he purified himself, sprinkled his body with consecrated water, put on a crown of lawrel, and then approached the altar, from whence, with great reverence, he took the holy fire, and carried it with him to Platæa, where he arrived before the setting of the sun, having travelled a thousand stadia (which make an hundred and twenty five miles English) in one day. As soon as he came back, he saluted his fellow-citizens, delivered

delivered the fire to them, fell down at their feet, XERXES.
 and died in a moment afterwards. His countrymen
 carried away his body and buried it in the temple
 of Diana, surnamed, Eucleia, which signifies, of
 good renown; and put the following epitaph upon
 his tomb in the compass of one verse: *Here lies
 Eucidas, who went from hence to Delphos, and re-
 turned back the same day.* L

In the next general assembly of Greece, which
 was held not long after this occurrence, Aristides
 proposed the following decree: that all the cities of
 Greece should every year send their respective depu-
 ties to Plataea, in order to offer sacrifices to *Jupiter
 Liberator*, and to the gods of the city; (this assembly
 was still regularly held in the time of Plutarch) that
 every five years there should be games celebrated
 there, which should be called the games of liberty;
 that the several states of Greece together should raise
 a body of troops, consisting of ten thousand foot,
 and a thousand horse, and should equip a fleet of an
 hundred ships, which should be constantly maintain-
 ed for making war against the Barbarians; and that
 the inhabitants of Plataea, entirely devoted to the
 service of God, should be looked upon as sacred and
 inviolable, and be concerned in no other function
 than that of offering prayers and sacrifices for the ge-
 neral preservation and prosperity of Greece.

All these articles being approved of, and passed
 into a law, the citizens of Plataea took upon them
 to solemnize every year the anniversary festival in
 honour of those persons, that were slain in the fore-
 mentioned engagement: the order and manner of
 performing this sacrifice was as follows. * The six-
 teenth day of the month Maimacterion, which an-
 swers to our month of December, at the first ap-

* Three months after the bat- at first performed, till after the c-
 tle of Plataea was fought. Pro- nemies were entirely gone, and the
 bably the funeral rites were not country was free.

XERXES. pearance of day-break they walked in a solemn procession, which was preceded by a trumpet, that sounded to battle. Next to the trumpet marched several chariots, filled with crowns and branches of myrtle. After these chariots was led a black bull, behind which marched a company of young fellows, carrying pitchers in their hands, full of wine and milk, the ordinary effusions they offered to the dead, and vials of oyl and of essence. All these young fellows were free-men; for no slave was allowed to have any part in this ceremony, which was instituted for men, who had lost their lives for liberty. In the rear of this pomp, followed the Archon, or chief magistrate of the Plataeans, for whom it was unlawful at any other time even so much as to touch iron, or to wear any other garment than a white one. But upon this occasion being clad in purple raiment, having a sword by his side, and holding an urn in his hands, which he took from the place, where they kept their publick records, he marched quite through the city to the place, where the tombs of his memorable country-men were erected. As soon as he came there, he drew out water with his urn from the fountain, washed with his own hands the little columns, that stood by the tombs, rubbed them afterwards with essence, and then killed the bull upon a pile of wood prepared for that purpose. And, after having offered up certain prayers to the terrestrial * Jupiter and Mercury, he invited those valiant souls deceased to come to their feast, and to partake of their funeral effusions; then taking a cup in his hand, and having filled it with wine, he poured it out on the ground and said with a loud voice: *I present this cup to these valiant men, who died for the liberty of the Grecians.* These were the ceremo-

* The terrestrial Jupiter is no other than Pluto; and the same epithet of terrestrial was likewise given to Mercury, because it was believed to be his office to conduct departed souls to the infernal regions.

ies, that were annually observed on this occasion XERXES. even in the time of Plutarch.

Diodorus adds, that the Athenians in particular Lib. 11. embellished the monuments of their citizens, who p. 26. died in the war with the Persians, with magnificent ornaments, instituted funeral games to their honour and memory, and appointed a solemn panegyrick to be pronounced to the same end, which in all probability was reiterated every year.

The reader will be sensible, without my being obliged to advertise him of it, how much these solemn testimonies and perpetual demonstrations of honour, esteem, and gratitude towards the soldiers, who had sacrificed their lives in the defence of liberty, conduced to enhance the merit of valour, and of the services they rendered their country, and to inspire the spectators with emulation and courage: and how exceeding proper all this was for the cultivating and perpetuating a spirit of bravery in the people, and for the making of their troops victorious and invincible.

The reader, no doubt, will be as much surprized on the other hand, to see how wonderfully careful and exact these people were in acquitting themselves on all occasions of the duties of religion. The great event, which I have just been relating, (*viz.*) the battle of Platæa, affords us very remarkable proofs of this particular, in the annual and perpetual sacrifice they instituted to *Jupiter Liberator*, which was still continued and observed in the time of Plutarch; in the care they took to consecrate the tenth part of all their spoil to the gods; and in the decree proposed by Aristides to establish a solemn festival for ever, as an anniversary commemoration of that blessing. It is a delightful thing, methinks, to see pagan and idolatrous nations thus publickly confessing and declaring, that all their expectations center in the supreme Being; that they think themselves obliged to ascribe the success of all their undertakings to

XERXES. him; that they look upon him as the author of all their victories and prosperities, as the sovereign ruler and disposer of states and empires, as the source from whence all salutary counsels, wisdom and courage are derived, and as entitled on all these accounts to the first and best part of their spoils, and to their perpetual acknowledgments and thanksgivings for such distinguished favours and benefits, as he conferred upon them.

S E C T. X.

The battle near Mycale. The defeat of the Persians.

Her. l. 9. **O**N the same day, as the Grecian land-forces
c 89— fought the battle of Platæa, their naval forces
105. obtained a memorable victory in Asia over the re-
Diod. l. 1. mainder of the fleet belonging to the Persians. For
11. p. 26 whilst the Grecian fleet lay at Ægina under the com-
—28. mand of Leotychides, one of the kings of Sparta, and of Xanthippus the Athenian, there came ambassadors to those generals from the Ionians to invite them to come into Asia and deliver the Grecian cities from their subjection to the Barbarians. On this invitation they immediately set sail for Asia, and steered their course by Delos: where when they arrived, there came other ambassadors to them from Samos, and brought them intelligence, that the Persian fleet, which had passed the winter at Cumæ, was then at Samos, where it would be an easy matter to defeat and destroy it, earnestly pressing them at the same time not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. The Grecians hereupon sailed away directly for Samos. But the Persians receiving intelligence of their approach, retired to Mycale, a promontory of the continent of Asia, where their land-army, consisting of an hundred thousand men, who were the remainder of those, that Xerxes had carried back from Greece the year before, was encamped

imped. Here they drew their vessels ashore; XERXES.
 which was a common practice among the antients;
 and encompassed them round with a strong rampart.
 The Grecians followed them to the very place, and
 with the help of the Ionians defeated their land-army;
 brecced their rampart, and burnt all their vessels.

The battle of Plataea was fought in the morning;
 and that of Mycale in the afternoon on the same
 day: and yet all the Greek writers pretend that the
 victory of Plataea was known at Mycale, before the
 latter engagement was begun, though the whole
 Egæan sea, which requires several days sailing to
 cross it, was between those two places. But Diodo-
 rus, the Sicilian, explains us this mystery. He tells
 us, that Leotychides, observing his soldiers to be
 much dejected for fear their countrymen at Plataea
 should sink under the numbers of Mardonius's army,
 imagined a stratagem in order to raise their spirits
 and courage; and that therefore, when he was just
 upon the point of making the first attack, he caused
 a rumour to be * spread among his troops, that the
 Persians were defeated at Plataea, though at that time
 he had no manner of knowledge of the matter.

Xerxes, hearing the news of these two overthrows Diod. 1.
11. p. 28.
 left Sardis with as much haste and hurry, as he had
 done Athens before, after the battle of Salamin, and
 retired with great precipitation into Persia in order
 to put himself as far as he possibly could out of the
 reach of his victorious enemies. But before he set Strab. l. 14.
p. 634.
 out, he gave orders, that his people should burn
 and demolish all the temples belonging to the Grecian
 cities in Asia: which order was so far executed, that
 there was not one spared, except the temple of Dia- Cic. 1. 2.
de leg. n.
29.
 na at Ephesus. This he was led to do by the insti-
 gation of the Magi, who were profest enemies to

* What we are told likewise known at Rome, the very day it
 of Paulus Emilius's victory over was obtained, without doubt came
 the Macedonians, which was to pass after the same manner.

XERXES. on. Xerxes, foreseeing the ill consequences that would necessarily ensue from his making her this present, did all that he could to dissuade her from insisting upon it, and offered her any thing in the world in lieu of it. But, not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by the imprudent promise and oath he had made to her, he gave her the robe. The lady no sooner received it, but she put it on, and wore it publickly by way of trophy.

Amestris being confirmed in the suspicions she had entertained, by this action, was enraged to the last degree. But instead of letting her vengeance fall upon the daughter, who was the only offender, she resolved to wreak it upon the mother, whom she looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though she was entirely innocent of the matter. For the better executing of her purpose, she waited for the time of the grand feast, which was every year celebrated on the king's birth day, and which was not far off; on which occasion the king, according to the established custom of the country, was wont to grant her whatever she demanded. This day then being come, the thing she desired of his majesty was, that the wife of Mafistus should be delivered into her hands. Xerxes, who apprehended the queen's design, and who was struck with horror at the thoughts of it, as well out of regard to his brother, as on account of the innocence of the lady, against whom he perceived his wife was so violently exasperated, at first refused her request, and endeavoured all he could to dissuade her from it. But not being able either to prevail upon her, or to act with steadiness and resolution himself, he at last yielded, and was guilty of the weakest and cruellest piece of complaisance, that was ever heard of, making the inviolable obligations of justice and humanity give way to the arbitrary laws of a custom, that had only been established in order to give occasion for the doing of good, and for acts of beneficence

ficence and generosity. In consequence then of this XERXES. compliance, the lady was apprehended by the king's guards, and delivered to Arneftris, who caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips to be cut off, ordered them to be cast to the dogs in her own presence, and then sent her home to her husband's house in that mutilated and miserable condition. In the mean time, Xerxes had sent for his brother, in order to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first gave him to understand, that he should be glad he would put away his wife, and to induce him thereto, offered to give him one of his daughters in her stead. But Masiftus, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not prevail upon himself to divorce her: whereupon Xerxes, in great wrath told him, that since he refused his daughter, he should neither have her nor his wife, and that he would teach him not to reject the offers his master made him: and with this inhuman reply he dismissed him.

This strange procedure threw Masiftus into the greatest anxiety; who, thinking he had reason to apprehend the worst of accidents, made all the haste he could home to see what had passed there during his absence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have just been describing. Being enraged thereat to the degree we may naturally imagine, he assembled all his family, his servants and dependants, and set out with all possible expedition for Bactriana, whereof he was governour, determined, as soon as he arrived there, to raise an army and make war against the king in order to avenge himself of his barbarous treatment. But Xerxes, being informed of his hasty departure, and from thence suspecting the design he had conceived against him, sent a party of horse after him to pursue him; which having overtaken him cut him in pieces, together with his children and all his retinue. I do

XERXES. not know, whether a more tragical example of revenge, than this I have now related, can be met with in history.

Her. 1. 7.
c. 114 There is still another action, no less cruel or impious than the former, related of Amestris. She caused fourteen children of the best families in Persia to be burnt alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods, out of compliance with a superstitious custom, that was practised by the Persians.

Diod.
1. 11. p. 53. Masistus being dead, Xerxes gave the government of Bactriana to his second son Hystaspes, who being by that means obliged to live at a distance from the court gave his younger brother Artaxerxes the opportunity of mounting the throne to his disadvantage after the death of their father, as will be seen in the sequel.

Here ends Herodotus's history (*viz.*) at the battle of Mycale, and the besieging of the city Sestus, by the Athenians.

S E C T. XII.

The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, in spite of the opposition made thereto by the Lacedæmonians.

A. M.
3526.
Ant. J. C.
478.
Thucyd.
1. 8. p.
59-62.
Diod. 1.
11. p. 30,
31.
Justin. 1.
2. c. 15.

THE war, commonly called the war of Media, which had lasted but two years, being terminated in the manner we have mentioned, the Athenians returned to their own country, sent for their wives and children, whom they had committed to the care of their friends during the war, and began to think of rebuilding their city, which was almost entirely destroyed by the Persians, and to surround it with good strong walls in order to secure it from farther violence. The Lacedæmonians having got intelligence thereof grew jealous and uneasy about the enterprize, and began to apprehend, that Athens, which was already very powerful by sea, if it should

go on to encrease its strength by land likewise, XERXES.
might take upon her in time to give law to Sparta, and to deprive her of that authority and pre-eminence, which she had hitherto exercised over the rest of Greece. They therefore sent an embassy to the Athenians; the purport of which was to represent to them, that the common interest and safety required, that there should be no fortified city out of the Peloponnesus, left, in case of a second irruption, it should serve for a place of arms for the Persians, who would be sure to settle themselves therein, as they had done before at Thebes, and who from thence would be able to infest the whole country, and to make themselves masters of it very speedily. Themistocles, who since the battle of Salamin was greatly considered and respected at Athens, easily penetrated into the true design of the Lacedæmonians, though it was gilded over with the specious pretext of publick good: but, as the latter were able, with the assistance of their allies, to hinder the Athenians by force from carrying on the work, in case they should positively and absolutely refuse to comply with their demands, he advised the senate to make use of cunning and dissimulation, as well as they. The answer therefore they made their envoys was, that they would send an embassy to Sparta, to satisfy the commonwealth concerning their jealousies and apprehensions. Themistocles got himself to be nominated, as one of the ambassadors, and persuaded the senate not to let his colleagues set out along with him, but to send them one after another, to the end that they might thereby gain time, and carry on the work in the interim. The matter was executed pursuant to his advice; and he accordingly went singly to Lacedæmon, where he let a great many days pass without his waiting upon the magistrates, or being conducted to the senate. And, upon their pressing him to do it, and asking him the reason why he deferred it so long, he made answer, that he waited for the arrival of his colleagues,
that

XERXES. that they might all have their audience of the senate together, and seemed to be very much surprized, that they were so long in coming. At length they arrived : but all came singly, and at a good distance of time from one another. During all this while, the work was carried on at Athens with the utmost industry and vigour. The women, children, strangers and slaves were all employed in it : nor was it interrupted night or day. The Spartans were not ignorant of the matter, but made great complaints of it to Themistocles, who positively denied the fact, and pressed them to send other messengers to Athens, in order to inform themselves truly, how far it was from being true, desiring them not to give credit to loose and flying reports, which had no foundation. At the same time he secretly advised the Athenians to detain the Spartan envoys, as so many hostages, till he and his colleagues were returned from their embassy, fearing not without good reason that they themselves might be so served at Sparta. At last, when all his fellow-ambassadors were arrived, he desired an audience, and declared in full senate, that it was really true the Athenians had resolved to environ and fortify their city with strong walls ; that the work was almost compleated ; that they had judged it to be absolutely necessary for their own security, and for the publick good of the allies ; telling them at the same time, that, after all the experience they had had of the Athenian people's behaviour, they could not well suspect them of being wanting in their zeal for the common interest of their country ; that, as the condition and priviledges of all the allies ought to be equal, it was just the Athenians should provide for their own safety by all such methods, as they judged necessary, as well as the other confederates ; that they had done this in a manner they thought expedient, and were in a condition to defend their city against any one, that should presume to attack it :

it; and * that as for the Lacedæmonians, it was XERXES. not much for their honour, that they should desire to establish their power and superiority not so much upon their own strength and courage, as upon the weak and defenceless condition of their allies. The Lacedæmonians were extremely displeased with this discourse: but, either out of a sense of gratitude and esteem for the Athenians, who had done such signal service for their country, or out of a conviction, that they were not able to defeat their enterprize, they dissimulated their resentment; and the ambassadors on both sides, having all suitable honours paid to them, returned to their respective cities.

Themistocles, who had always his thoughts fixed upon raising and augmenting the power and glory of the Athenian commonwealth, did not confine his views to the walls of the city. He went on with the same vigorous application to finish the building and fortifying of the Piræus: for from the time he entered into office he had begun that great work. Before his time they had no other port at Athens but that of Phalærus, which was neither very large nor commodious, and consequently not capable of answering the great designs of Themistocles. For this reason he had cast his eye upon the Piræus, which seemed to invite him thereto by its advantageous situation and by the conveniency of its three spacious havens, which were able to contain above four hundred vessels. This undertaking was prosecuted with so much diligence and vivacity, that the work was considerably advanced in a very little time. Themistocles likewise procured a decree, that every year they should build twenty vessels for the augmentation of their fleet: and in order to engage the greater number of workmen and sailors to resort to Athens, he caused particular privileges and

Thucyd.
p. 62, 63.
Diod. l. i. r.
v. 32, 33.

* Graviter castigat eos, quod non virtute, sed imbecillitate sociorum potentiam quærerent. *Justin. l. 2. c. 15.*

XERXES. immunities to be granted in their favour. His design was, as I have already observed, to turn the whole force of Athens to maritime affairs ; in which he followed a very different scheme of politicks from what had been pursued by their antient kings, who endeavouring all they could to alienate the minds of the citizens from seafaring business and from war, and to make them apply themselves wholly to Agriculture and to peaceable employments, published this fable : That, as Minerva was one day pleading against Neptune, in order to have it determined, which of them two should be declared patron of Attica, and give their name to the city newly built, she gained her cause by shewing her judges the branch of an olive tree, (happy symbol of peace and plenty) which she had planted ; whereas Neptune had made a prancing, fiery horse rise out of the ground before them, which was an image of war and devastation.

S E C T. XIII.

The black designs of Themistocles rejected with an unanimous consent by the Athenian people, Aristides's condescension and complaisance for the people.

Plut. in
Themist.
p. 121,
122.
in Arist.
p. 332.

THEMISTOCLES, who had formed in his breast the design of supplanting the Lacedæmonians, and of taking the government of Greece out of their hands in order to put it into the hands of the Athenians, kept his eye and his thoughts continually fixed upon that great project. And as he was not very nice or scrupulous in the choice of the means, whatever tended towards the accomplishing of the end he had in view, he looked upon it as just and lawful. On a certain day then he declared in a full assembly of the people, that he had a very important design in his head, but that he could not communicate it to the people ; because, in order to
make

make it succeed, it was necessary it should be carried on with the greatest secrecy: he therefore desired they would name a person, with whom he might explain himself upon the matter in question. Aristides was the person unanimously pitched upon by the whole assembly, who all referred themselves entirely to his opinion in the matter; so great a confidence had they both in his probity and prudence. Themistocles therefore having taken him aside, told him, that the design he had conceived was, to burn the fleet, belonging to the rest of the Grecian states, which was then lying in a neighbouring port; and that by this means Athens would certainly become mistress of all Greece. Aristides hereupon returned to the assembly, and only declared to them, that indeed nothing could be more beneficial to the commonwealth than Themistocles his project, but that at the same time nothing in the world could be more unjust. All the people with one unanimous voice ordained, that Themistocles should entirely desist from his project.

I do not know whether all the records of history can afford us a fact more worthy of admiration, than this. It is not a company of philosophers (to whom it costs nothing to establish fine maxims and sublime notions of morality in their schools) who determine on this occasion, that the consideration of profit and advantage ought never to prevail over our regard to what is honest and just. It is an intire people, who are interested in the proposition, that is made to them, and who are convinced, that it may be of the highest importance for the welfare of the state, and who yet reject it with an unanimous consent and without a moment's hesitation, and that for this only reason, that it is contrary to justice. How black and perfidious on the other hand was the design, which Themistocles proposed to them, of burning the fleet of their Grecian confederates, when they had no quarrel or misunderstanding with them,

only

XERXES. only in order to aggrandize the power of the Athenians ! Had he ye hundred times the merit, that is ascribed to him, this single action would be sufficient to tarnish all its glory and lustre. For it is in the heart, that is to say, in uprightness and probity, that true merit consisteth.

I am sorry that Plutarch, who judges of things, generally speaking, with great justness, does not seem, on this occasion, to condemn Themistocles. After having spoken of the works he had effected in the Pyræus, he passes on to the thing we are considering, and speaks of it in this manner : *Themistocles projected something still greater; in order to increase their maritime power.*

μειζόν τι
διεραβήν

Plut. in
Themist.
p. 122.

The Lacedæmonians having proposed in the counsel of the Amphietyones, that all the cities, which had not taken arms against Xerxes, should be excluded from that assembly, Themistocles, who apprehended, that if the Theffalians, the Argians, and the Thebans, were shut-out of that council, the Spartans would by that means become masters of the votes, and would consequently determine all affairs according to their pleasure ; Themistocles, I say, made a speech in behalf of those cities, which the other had a mind to exclude, and brought the deputies, that composed the assembly, over to his sentiments. He represented to them, that the greatest part of the cities, that had entered into the confederacy, in which there were but one and thirty in the whole, were very small and inconsiderable ; that it would therefore be a very strange proceeding, as well as a very dangerous one, to deprive all the other cities of Greece of their votes and places in the grand assembly of the nation, and by that means suffer the august council of the Amphietyones to fall under the direction and influence of two or three of the most powerful cities, which for the future would give law to all the rest, and would subvert and abolish that equality of power, which was justly regarded, as the basis and soul

soul of all republican governments. Themistocles, XERXES. by this plain and open declaration of his opinion, brought upon himself the hatred of the Lacedæmonians, who from that time became his profest enemies. He had likewise incurred the displeasure of the rest of the allies by his having exacted contributions from them in too rigorous and rapacious a manner.

When the city of Athens was entirely rebuilt, the people finding themselves in a state of peace and tranquillity, endeavoured by all sorts of methods to get the government into their hands, and to make the Athenian state entirely popular. This design of theirs, though kept as secret as possible, did not escape the vigilance and penetration of Aristides, who saw all the consequences, that such an innovation would draw after it. But, as he considered on one hand, that the people were entitled to some regard, on account of the valour they had shewn, in all the late battles they had won, and on the other hand, that it would be no easy matter to curb and restrain a people, who still had their arms in their hands, as it were, and who were grown more insolent than ever by their victories; on these considerations, I say, he thought it was proper to keep measures with them, and to find out some medium to satisfy and appease them. He therefore made a decree, which ordained that the government should be common to all the citizens, and that the Archons, who were the chief magistrates of the commonwealth, and who were used to be chosen only out of the richest of its members, (*viz.*) from among those only, who received at least five hundred Medimna's of grain out of the product of their lands, should for the future be elected indifferently out of all the Athenians without distinction. By this prudent yielding and giving up something to the people he prevented all dissensions and commotions, which might have proved fatal, not only to the Athenian state, but to all Greece.

XERXES.

S E C T. XIV.

The Lacedæmonians lose the chief command through the pride and arrogance of Pausanias.

A. M.

3528.

Ant. J. C.

476.

Thucid.

l. 1. p. 63,

84-86.

THE Grecians, encouraged by the happy success, which had every where attended their victorious arms, determined to send a fleet to sea, in order to rescue such of their allies, as were still under the yoke of the Persians, out of their hands. Pausanias was the commander of this fleet on the part of the Lacedæmonians; and Aristides, and Cimon the son of Miltiades, commanded for the Athenians. They first directed their course to the isle of Cyprus, where they restored all the cities to their liberty: then steering towards the Hellespont they attacked the city of Byzantium, of which they made themselves masters, and took a vast number of prisoners, a great part of whom were of the richest and most considerable families of Persia.

Pausanias, who from this time had begun to think of betraying his country, judged it proper to make use of this opportunity to gain the favour of Xerxes. To this end he caused a report to be spread among his troops, that the Persian noblemen, whom he had committed to the guard and care of one of his officers, had made their escape by night, and were fled: whereas he had set them at liberty himself, and sent a letter by them to Xerxes, wherein he offered to deliver the city of Sparta and all Greece into his hands, on condition he would give him his daughter in marriage. The king did not fail to give him a favourable answer, and to send him very large sums of money likewise, in order to win over, as many of the Grecians, as he should find disposed to enter into his designs. The person he appointed to manage this intrigue with him was Artabazes; and to the end that he might have it in his power to transact the

he matter with the greater ease and security, he made ~~XERXES.~~
him governor of all the sea coasts of Asia Minor.

Pausanias, who was already intoxicated with the prospect of his future greatness, began from this moment to change his whole conduct and behaviour. The poor, modest and frugal way of living at Sparta; their subjection to a set of rigid and austere laws, which neither spared, nor respected any man's person, but were altogether as inexorable and inflexible to the greatest, as they were to those of the meanest condition; all this, I say, became insupportable to Pausanias. He could not bear the thoughts, of going back to Sparta, after his having been possessed of such high commands and employments, to return to a state of equality, which would confound him with the lowest of the citizens; and this was the cause of his entering into a traiterous correspondence with the Barbarians. Having done this, he entirely laid aside the manners and behaviour of his own country; assumed both the dress and the pride of the Persians, and imitated them in all their expensive luxury and magnificence. He likewise treated the allies with an insufferable rudeness and insolence; never spoke to the officers but with menaces and arrogance; required extraordinary and unusual honours to be paid to him, and by his whole behaviour rendered the Spartan dominion odious to all the confederates. On the other hand, the courteous, affable and obliging deportment of Aristides and Cimon; a way and manner so entirely void of all imperious and haughty airs, which only tend to alienate our minds from those, that use them; a gentle, kind and beneficent disposition, which shewed it self in all their actions, and which served to temper the authority their command gave them, and to render it both easy and amiable; the justice and humanity, that were conspicuous in every thing they did; the great care they took to offend no person whatsoever, and to do kind offices and services to all, that were about them:

Plut. in
Arist. p.
332, 333.

XERXES. them: all this, I say, did infinite harm to Pausanias by the contrast of their opposite characters, and mightily enhanced the dissatisfaction, the whole fleet had conceived against him. At last this dissatisfaction publicly broke out; and all the allies deserted him, and put themselves under the command and protection of the Athenians. Thus did Aristides, says Plutarch, by the prevalence of that humanity and gentleness, which he opposed to the arrogance and roughness of Pausanias, and by infusing the same sentiments into Cimon, his colleague, insensibly draw off the minds of the allies from the Lacedæmonians without their perceiving it, and at length carry away the command and superiority from them; not by open force, or by sending out armies and fleets against them, and still less by making use of any tricks or perfidious practices; but only by the wisdom and moderation of his conduct, and by rendering the government of the Athenians desirable. ✎

It must be confessed at the same time, that the Spartan people on this occasion shewed a greatness of soul and a spirit of moderation, that can never be sufficiently admired. For when they were convinced, that their commanders grew haughty and insolent by the too great authority, with which they were vested, they willingly relinquished the superiority, which they had hitherto exercised over the rest of the Grecians, and forbore sending any more of their generals to command the Grecian armies; choosing rather, adds the historian, to have wise, modest and submissive citizens, that would live in a perfect conformity to the discipline and laws of the commonwealth, than to maintain their pre-eminence and superiority over all the Grecian nations.

S E C T. XV.

Pausanias's secret conspiracy with the Persians. His Death.

UPON the repeated complaints the Spartan A. M. commonwealth received on all hands against 3529. Pausanias, they recalled him home to give an ac- Ant. J. C. count of his conduct. But not having sufficient evi- 475, dence to convict him of his having carried on a cor- Thucyd. respondence with Xerxes; they were obliged to acquit l. i. p. 86, him on this first tryal; after which he returned of his & 89. own private authority and without the consent and Diod. l. i. 1. approbation of the republick; to the city of Byzan- p. 34—36. tium, from whence he continued to carry on his se- Cor. Nep. cret practises with Artabazus. But, as he was still guilty in Pausan. of many violent and unjust proceedings; whilst he resided here, the Athenians obliged him to leave the town; from whence he retired to Colonæ a small ci- ty of Troas. Being there, he received an order from the Ephori to return to Sparta, on pain of being de- clared, in case of disobedience, a publick enemy and traitor to his country. He complied with the sum- mons and went home, hoping he should still be able to bring himself off by dint of money. On his ar- rival he was committed to prison, and was soon af- terwards brought again upon his tryal before the judges. The charge brought against him was sup- ported by many suspicious circumstances and strong presumptions. Several of his own slaves confessed that he had promised to give them their liberty, in case they would enter into his designs, and serve him with fidelity and zeal in the execution of his projects. But, as it was the custom for the Ephori never to pronounce sentence of death against a Spar- tan without a full and direct proof of the crime laid to his charge; they looked upon the evidence pro- duced against him as insufficient; and the more so,

XENOPHON. as he was a man of the royal family, and was actually invested with the administration of the regal office; for Pausanias exercised the function of a king, as being the guardian and nearest relation to **Plistarchus**, the son of Leonidas, who was then in his minority. He was therefore acquitted a second time, and set at liberty.

Whilst the Ephori were thus perplexed for want of clear and plain evidence against the offender, a certain slave, who was called the Argilian, came to them, and brought them a letter, writ by Pausanias himself to the king of Persia, which the slave was to have carried and delivered to **Artabazus**. It must be observed by the way, that this Persian governour and Pausanias had agreed together, immediately to put to death all the couriers they mutually sent to one another, as soon as their packets or messages were delivered, that there might be no possibility left of tracing out or discovering their correspondence. The Argilian, who saw none of his fellow-servants, that were sent express, return back again, had some suspicion; and when it came to his turn to go, he opened the letter he was entrusted with, in which **Artabazus** was really desired to kill him pursuant to their agreement. This was the letter the slave put into the hands of the Ephori; who still thought even this proof insufficient in the eye of the law, and therefore endeavoured to corroborate it, by the testimony of Pausanias himself. The slave, in concert with them, withdrew to the temple of Neptune in Tenaros, as to a secure asylum. Two small closets had been made there, in which the Ephori and some Spartans hid themselves. The instant that Pausanias was informed that the Argilian had fled to this temple, he hastened thither, to enquire the reason. The slave confessed that he had opened the letter; and that finding by the contents of it he was to be put to death, he had fled to that temple to save his life. As Pausanias could not deny the fact,

act, he made the best excuse he could; promised ~~him~~ ^{HERMES.} he slave a great reward; obliged him to give his word, not to mention what had passed between them to any person whatsoever. Pausanias then left him.

Pausanias's guilt was now but too evident. The moment he was returned to the city, the Ephori were resolved to seize him. By the air of one of those magistrates, he plainly perceived that some evil design was watching against him, and therefore he ran with the utmost speed to the temple of Pallas, called Chalioceos, near that place, and got into it before the pursuers could overtake him. Immediately the entrance to it was stoppt up with great stones: and history informs us, that the criminal's mother set the first example on that occasion. They now tore off the roof of the chapel: but as the Ephori did not dare to take him out of it by force, because this would have been a violation of that sacred asylum, they resolved to leave him exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and accordingly he was starved to death. His corps was buried not far from that place: but the oracle of Delphi, whom they consulted soon after, declared, that to appease the anger of the goddess, who was justly offended on account of the violation of her temple, two statues must be set up there in honour of Pausanias, which was done accordingly.

Such was the end of Pausanias, whose wild and inconsiderate ambition had craz'd all sentiments of probity, of honour, and of his country's love; had stifled in him the noble passion for liberty, and of hatred and aversion to the Barbarians: sentiments which, in some measure, were inherent in all the Greeks, particularly the Lacedæmonians.

S E C T. XVI.

Themistocles, being pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, as being an accomplice in Pausanias's conspiracy, flies for shelter to king Admetus.

Thucyd.
l. i. p. 89,
90.
Plut. in
Themist.
c. 123,
124.
Cornel.
Nep. in
Themist.
c. 8.

THEMISTOCLES was also charged as being an accomplice with Pausanias. He was then in exile. A passionate thirst of glory, and a strong desire to command arbitrarily over the citizens, had made him very odious to them. He had built, very near his house, a temple in honour of Diana, under this title, to *Diana goddess of good counsel*; as hinting to the Athenians, that he had given good counsel to their city and to all Greece; and he also had placed his statue in it, which was standing in Plutarch's time. It appeared, says he, from this statue, that the air of his face was as heroic as his mind. Finding that men listened with pleasure to all the slanders which his enemies published concerning him; to suppress them, he was for ever expatiating, in all publick assemblies, on the services he had done his country. As they at last grew quite tired to hear him repeat this over so often, *How!* says he to them, *are you weary of having good offices done you frequently by the same persons?* He did not consider, that in thus putting them so often in mind * of the services he had done them, 'twas reproaching them, as it were, with their having forgot them, which was no great compliment; and he seemed not to know, that the surest way to get applause, is to leave the bestowing of it to others, and to resolve to do such things only as are praise-worthy; and that a frequent repetition of one's own virtue and ex-

* Hoc molestum est. Nam isthæc commemoratio quasi exprobratio est immemoris beneficii. *Terent. in Andr.*

alted actions, so far from hushing the clamours of ~~XERXES~~,
envy, adds strength and vigour to her voice. X

Themistocles, after having been banished from Plut. in...
Athens by the ostracism, withdrew to Argos. He Themist.
was there at the time, when Pausanias was prosecuted P. 112.
as a traitor, who had conspired against his country.
He had at first concealed his machinations from
Themistocles, though he was one of his best friends,
but as soon as he was drove from his country, and
saw that he strongly resented the insult, he disclosed
his projects to him, and conjured him to join in
them. To encourage him on this occasion, he
showed him the letters which the king of Persia
wrote to him; and endeavoured to animate him a-
gainst the Athenians, by painting their injustice and
ingratitude in the strongest colours. However,
Themistocles rejected with indignation the proposals
made him by Pausanias, and refused peremptorily to
engage, in any manner, in his schemes: but then he
did not reveal the secret to any person, nor the enter-
prize he had formed; whether it was that he ima-
gined that Pausanias's own good sense would prompt
him to lay it aside, or was persuaded that it would
be discovered some other way; it not being possible
for so hazardous and ill-contrived a plot, ever to
meet with success.

After Pausanias's death, several letters and other
things were found among his papers, which raised a
violent suspicion of Themistocles. The Lacedæmo-
nians sent deputies to Athens to impeach, and pro-
nounce sentence of death on him: and such of the
citizens who envied him, joined these accusers. A-
ristides had now a fair opportunity of revenging
himself on his rival, for the injurious treatment he
had met with from him, had his soul been abject e-
nough to be affected with so cruel a pleasure. But
he refused absolutely to join in so horrid a plot; now
as little inclined to delight in the misfortunes of his
adversary, as he had before been, to be displeased at

XERXES. his successes. Themistocles answered, by letters, all the calumnies with which he was charged; and represented to the Athenians, that as he had ever been fond of ruling, and his temper being such as would not suffer him to be lorded over by others; it was no ways probable that he should have a design to deliver up himself, and all Greece, to enemies and Barbarians.

In the mean time the people, too strongly wrought upon by his accusers, sent some persons to seize and carry him off, in order that he might be judged by the council of Greece. Themistocles, having timely notice of it, went into the island of Cœcyra, to whose inhabitants he formerly had done some service: however, not thinking himself safe there, he fled to Epirus; and finding himself pursued also by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he, out of despair, made a very hazardous attempt, which was, to fly to Admetus king of the Molossi for shelter. This Prince, having formerly desired the aid of the Athenians, and been refused with ignominy by Themistocles, who at that time presided in the government, he had harboured the deepest resentment on that account, and declared, that he would take the first opportunity of revenging himself. But Themistocles, imagining that in the unhappy state of his affairs, the recent envy of his fellow-citizens might be of worse consequence to him than the past animosity of that king, was resolved to run the hazard of it. Being come into the palace of that monarch, he was told he was absent, upon which he addressed the queen, who received him very graciously, and instructed him in the manner how to present his petition. Admetus being returned, Themistocles takes the king's son in his arms, seats him on his hearth, amidst his domestick gods; and there, telling him who he was, and the cause why he fled to him for refuge, he implores his clemency; owns that his life is in his hands, intreats him to obliterate

obliterate past offences ; and represents to him, that ~~XERXES~~ no action can be more worthy a great king than to exercise clemency. Admetus, surprized and moved to pity at seeing at his feet, in so humble a posture, the greatest man of all Greece, and the conqueror of all Asia, he raises him immediately from the ground, and promises to protect him against all his enemies. Accordingly, when the Athenians and Lacedæmonians came and demanded him, he refused absolutely to deliver up to them a man who had made his palace his asylum, in the firm persuasion that it would be sacred and inviolable:

Whilst he was at the court of this prince, one of his friends found an opportunity to carry off his wife and children from Athens, and send them to him ; for which that person was some time after seized and sentenced to die. With regard to Themistocles's possessions, his friends secured the greatest part of them for him, which they afterwards found opportunity to remit him ; but all that the government could discover, which amounted to an hundred talents, was carried to the publick treasury ; and at the time that he was raised to the administration, *An hundred thousand crowns French.* he was not worth three talents. I shall leave, for some time, this illustrious exile in the court of king Admetus, to resume the sequel of this history.

S E C T. XVII.

Aristides's disregard of money, in his administration of the publick treasure. His death and elogium.

I Before observed, that the command of Greece had Mat. in Arist. passed from Sparta to the Athenians. Hitherto, P. 333. 334 the cities and nations of Greece had indeed contri- Diod. l. 11. p. 36. buted some sums of money towards carrying on the expence of the war against the Barbarians ; but this repartition or division had always occasioned great feuds, because it was not made in a just or equal proportion.

XERXES. proportion. It was thought proper, under this new government, to lodge in the island of Delos, the common treasure of Greece; to fix new regulations with regard to the publick monies; and to lay such a tax as might be regulated in proportion to the revenue of every particular city and nation; in order that the expences being equally borne by the several individuals who composed the body of the allies, no one might have reason to murmur. The business was, to find a person of so honest and incorrupt a mind, as to discharge faithfully an employment of so delicate and dangerous a kind, the due administration of which so nearly concerned the publick welfare. All the allies cast their eyes on Aristides; accordingly they invested him with full powers, and appointed him to levy a tax on every individual, they relying entirely on his wisdom and justice.

The citizens had no cause to repent their choice*. He presided over the treasury with the fidelity and disinterestedness of a man, who looks upon it as a capital crime to embezzle the smallest portion of another's possessions; with the care and activity of a father of a family, who superintends his own estate; with the caution and pious integrity of a person, who considers the publick monies as sacred. In fine, he succeeded in a very rare circumstance, viz. to win the love of all in an office, in which that man who even secures himself from the publick odium gains a great point. Such is the glorious character which Seneca gives of a person possessed of much the same employment; and the noblest eulogium that can be bestowed on a lord high-treasurer. This is the exact picture of Aristides. He discovered so

* Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes administras; tam abstinenter quam alienas, tam diligenter quam tuas, tam religiosè

quam publicas. In officio amorem consequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile est. *Senec. lib. de brev. vit. cap. 18.*

much probity and wisdom in the exercise of this XERXES. office, that no man complained; and these times were considered ever after as the golden age, that is, the period in which Greece had attained its highest pitch of virtue and happiness. And indeed, the tax which he had fixed, in the whole, to four hundred and sixty talents, was raised by Pericles to six hundred, and soon after to thirteen hundred talents: it was not that the expences of the war were increased, but the treasure was employed to very useless purposes, as in distributing monies, severally, to the Athenians, in the solemnizing of games and festivals, in the building of temples and publick edifices; not to mention, that the hands of those who superintended the treasury, were not always as pure as those of Aristides. This wise and equitable conduct, secured him, to latest posterity, the glorious surname of *the just*.

The talent is worth a thousand French crowns.

Nevertheless, Plutarch relates an action of Aristides, which shows that the Greeks, (the same may be said of the Romans) had a very narrow and imperfect idea of justice. They confined the exercise of it to the interior, as it were, of civil society; and acknowledged that, the individuals were bound to observe strictly its several maxims: But with regard to their country, to the republick, (their mighty idol to which they made all other things relative) they thought in a quite different manner; and imagined themselves essentially obliged to sacrifice to it, not only their lives and possessions, but even their religion and the most sacred engagements, in opposition to and contempt of the most solemn oaths. This will appear evidently in what follows.

After the repartition had been made of the tributes above-mentioned, Aristides having settled the several articles of the alliance, made the confederates take an oath to observe them punctually, and he himself swore in the name of the Athenians: and in denouncing the curses which always accompanied the oaths,

Ibid. p. 333, 334.

XERXES. oaths, he threw into the seas, pursuant to the usual custom, large bars of red-hot iron. But the ill state of the affairs of the Athenians, forcing them afterwards to infringe some of those articles, and to govern a little more arbitrarily, he intreated them to vent those curses on him, and so discharge themselves of the punishment due to such as had foresworn themselves, and who had been forced to it by the unhappy situation of their affairs. Theophrastus tells us, that in general (these words are borrowed from Plutarch) Aristides, who executed all matters relating to himself or the publick, with the most impartial and rigorous justice; used to enact, in his administration, several laws, according as the exigency of things, and the welfare of his country, might require: it being his opinion, that a government, in order to support itself, is, on some occasions, obliged to have recourse to injustice, of which he gives the following example. One day, as the Athenians were debating in their council, about bringing to their city, in opposition to the articles of the treaty, the common treasures of Greece which were lodged in Delos: the Samians having opened the debate; when it was Aristides's turn to speak, he said, that the dislodging of the treasure was an unjust action, but useful; and he won over the voices to his opinion. This incident shows, that the pretended wisdom of the heathens, was overspread with a thick mist of error.

It was scarce possible to have a greater contempt for riches than Aristides had. Themistocles, who was not pleased to have encomiums bestowed on other men, hearing Aristides applauded for the noble disinterestedness with which he managed the publick treasure, did but laugh at it; and said, that the praises which were bestowed upon him for it, showed no greater merit or virtue than that of a strong chest, which faithfully preserves all the monies that are shut up in it, and embezzles none. This low sneer,

was

was by way of revenge for an answer that was XERXES. made him, and which had stung him to the quick. Themistocles saying, That, in his opinion, the greatest talent a general could possess, was to be able to foresee the designs of the enemy: "This talent," replied Aristides, "is necessary; but there is one which is noble and truly worthy of a general, viz. for him to have clean hands, and a soul superiour to all venal views of interest." Aristides might very justly answer Themistocles in this manner, since he was really very poor, though he had possessed the highest employments in the state. He seemed to have an innate love for poverty; and so far from being ashamed of it, he thought it reflected as much glory on him, as all the lawreels and victories he had won. History gives us a shining instance of this.

Callias, who was a near relation of Aristides, and the most wealthy citizen in Athens, was cited to appear before the judges. The accuser, laying very little stress on the cause itself, reproached him especially with permitting Aristides, his wife and children, to live in poverty, at a time when he himself wallowed in riches. Callias perceiving that these reproaches made a strong impression on the judges, he summoned Aristides to declare before them, whether he had not often pressed him to accept of large sums of money; and whether he had not obstinately refused to accept of his offer, with saying, That he had more reason to boast of his poverty, than Callias of his riches; That many persons were found who made a good use of their wealth, but that few were to be met with who bore their poverty with magnanimity and even joy; and that none had cause to blush at their abject condition, but such as had reduced themselves to it by their idleness, their intemperance, their profusion, or dissolute conduct. Aristides declared, that his kinsman had told nothing but the truth; and added, that a man whose frame of mind is such, as to suppress a de-

Plut in
compar.
Arist. &
Cato.

XERXES. fire of superfluous things, and [who confines the wants of life within the narrowest limits; besides its freeing the virtuous man from a thousand importunate cares, and leaving him so much master of his time, as to devote it entirely to the publick; it also approaches him, in some measure, to the deity, who is wholly unperplexed with cares or wants. There was no man in the assembly; but, at his leaving it, would have chose to be Aristides, though so poor, rather than Callias with all his riches.

Plutarch gives us, in few words, the glorious testimony which Plato gave of Aristides's virtue, for which he looks upon him as infinitely superiour to all the illustrious men his cotemporaries. Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, (says he) filled indeed their city with splendid edifices, with porticos, statues, rich ornaments, and other vain superfluities of that kind; but Aristides did all that lay in his power to enrich every part of it with virtue: Now, to raise a city to true happiness, it must be made virtuous, not rich.

P-795,797 Plutarch takes notice of another circumstance in Aristides's life, which, though of the simplest kind, reflects the greatest honour on him, and may serve as an excellent lesson. It is in the beautiful treatise, in which he enquires, whether it is proper for old men to concern themselves with affairs of government; and where he points out admirably well, the various services they may do the state, even in an advanced age. We are not to fancy, says he, that all publick services require great motion and hurry, such as, to harangue the people, to preside in the government, or to head armies: An old man, whose mind is informed with wisdom, may, without going abroad, exercise a kind of magisterial office in it, which though it be secret and obscure, is not therefore the less important; and that is, in training up youth by good counsel, teaching them the various springs

ings of politicks, and. how to conduct publick XERXES.
airs. Aristides, adds Plutarch, so far from being
burthen to his country was of the greatest benefit
it. His house was a publick school of virtue,
freedom, and politicks. It was open to all young
Athenians, (and to Cimon in particular) who had a
love for virtue, and these used to consult him as
if he had been an oracle. He gave them the
indefatigable access, listened to them with patience, taught
them with the utmost ease and familiarity; and
endeavoured, above all things, to animate their cou-
rage, and inspire them with confidence.

Plutarch * divided the life of statesmen into three
ages. In the first, he would have them learn the
principles of government; in the second, he re-
quires them to apply them to practice; and in the
third, to instruct others.

We do not find the exact time, nor the place Plut. in
where, Aristides died; but then history pays a Arist. p.
glorious testimony to his memory, when it assures 334. 335.
us, that this great man, who had possessed the highest
employments in the commonwealth, and had the ab-
solute disposal of the treasury, died poor, and did
not leave money enough to defray the expences of
his funeral; so that the government was obliged to
bear the charge of it, and to maintain his family.
His daughters were married, and Lyfimachus his son
was subsisted at the expence of the Prytaneum; which
likewise gave the daughter of the latter, after his death,
the pension with which those were honoured who had
come off victorious at the Olympic games. Plu-
tarch relates on this occasion, the liberality which Vide
the Athenians exerted in favour of the posterity of Tom. II.
Aristogiton their deliverer, who was fallen to decay; of antient
Hist. p.
595.

* He applies on this occasion the custom used in Rome, where the Vestals spent the first ten years in learning their office, and this was a kind of noviciat; the next ten years they employed in the exercise of their functions, and the last ten in instructing the young novices in them.

XERXES. and he adds, that even in his time, (almost six hundred years after) this kindness and liberality were still continued : It was glorious for a city, to have preserved for so many centuries its generosity and gratitude ; and a strong motive to fire the courage of the several individuals, when they were sure that their children would enjoy the rewards which death had prevented them from receiving ! It was delightful to see the distant posterity of the defenders and deliverers of the commonwealth, who had inherited nothing from their ancestors but the glory of their actions, maintained for so many ages at the expence of the publick, in consideration of the services their families had done the government. They lived in this manner with much more honour, and called up the remembrance of their ancestors with much greater splendor, than a multitude of citizens, whose fathers had been studious only of leaving them great estates, which generally do not long survive those who raised them, and often leave their posterity nothing but the odious remembrance of the injustice and oppression by which they were acquired.

The greatest honour which the antients have done Aristides, is in bestowing on him the glorious title of *the Just*. He gained it, not by one particular action, but by the whole tenor of his conduct, and the assemblage of his actions. Plutarch makes a reflexion on this occasion, which being very remarkable, I shall introduce here.

Plut. in
vit. Arist.
P. 321, 322 Among the several virtues of Aristides, says this judicious author, that for which he was most renowned, was his justice ; because this virtue is of most general use ; its benefits being extended to a greater number of persons ; as it is, the foundation, the soul, as it were of every employment, as well as publick administration. Hence it was that Aristides, though in low circumstances, and of mean extraction, nevertheless merited the title of *Just* ; a title, says Plutarch, truly royal, or rather truly divine ;
and

and which is nevertheless seldom thirsted after by **XERXES**. princes, because they are unacquainted with its beauty and excellency. They chuse rather to be called the conquerors of cities, and the thunderbolts of war ; and sometimes even eagles and lyons : thus preferring the vain honour of these pompous titles, which convey no other idea but wild havock and slaughter, to the solid glory of those which are expressive of goodness and virtue. They don't know, continues Plutarch, that of the three chief attributes of the deity of which kings boast themselves the image, I mean, immortality, power, and justice ; that of these three attributes, I say, the first of which excites our admiration and desire ; the second fills us with dread and terror ; and the third inspires us with awe and love: this last only, is truly and personally communicated to man, and can only conduct him to the other two, it being impossible for man to become truly immortal and powerful, without justice.

Before I resume the sequel of this history, it may not be improper to observe, that it was about this period the fame of the Greeks, still more renowned for their wisdom in governing, than the splendor of their victories, prompted the Romans to have recourse to their lights and knowledge. Rome, raised under kings, was in want of such laws, as were necessary for the good government of a commonwealth. * For this purpose the Romans sent deputies to copy the laws of the cities of Greece, and particularly of Athens, which were still better adapted to the popular government that had been established since the expulsion of the kings. On this model, the ten magistrates called *Decemviri*, and who

An. M.

3532.

Of Rome,

302.

* *Missi legati Athenas, jusque inclitas leges Solonis describere, & aliarum Græciæ civitatum instituta, mores, juraque noscere. Decem tabularum leges perlatæ sunt (quibus adjectæ*

postea duæ) qui nunc quoque in hoc immenso aliarum super alias privatarum legum cumulo; fons omnis publici privatique est juris. Liv. l. 3. n. 31 & 34.

XERXES. were invested with an absolute authority, were created : These digested the laws of the twelve tables, which are the basis of the Roman law.

S E C T. XVIII.

Death of Xerxes killed by Artabanus. His character.

An. M.
3531.

Ant. J. C.

473.

Ctes. c. 2.

Diod. l. 11.

p. 52.

Justin.

l. 3. c. 1.

Arist.

Politic.

l. 5 c. 10.

p. 404.

THE ill success of Xerxes in his expedition against the Greeks, and which continued afterwards, at last sunk his courage ; and now, quite laying aside all thoughts of war and conquest, he abandoned himself entirely to softness and luxury, and was studious of nothing but his pleasures. * Artabanus, a native of Hyrcania, captain of his guards, and who had long been one of his chief favourites, found that this dissolute conduct had drawn upon him the contempt of his subjects. He therefore imagined that this would be a favourable opportunity for him to conspire against his sovereign ; and his ambition was so vast, that he flattered himself with the hopes of succeeding him in the throne. It is very likely, that he was excited to the commission of this crime, from another motive. Xerxes had commanded him to murder Darius, his eldest son, but for what cause is not known. As this order had been given at a banquet, and when the company was heated with wine, he did not doubt but that Xerxes would forget it, and therefore was not in haste to obey it : However, he was mistaken, for the king complained upon that account, which made Artabanus dread his resentment, and therefore he resolved to get the start of him. Accordingly he prevailed upon Mithridates, one of the eunuchs of the palace, and lord chamberlain, to engage in his conspiracy ; and this officer let him into the chamber where the king lay, and murdered him in his sleep. He then went

* This was not the Artabanus uncle to Xerxes.

immediately to Artaxerxes the third son of Xerxes. XERXES. He informed him of the murder which had been committed, charging Darius his elder brother with it ; as though a strong desire of ascending the throne had prompted him to that execrable deed. He declared farther, that to secure the crown to himself, he was resolved to murder him also, for which reason it would be absolutely necessary for him to guard against all dangers. These words having made such an impression on Artaxerxes (a youth) as Artabanus desired, he went immediately into his brother's apartment, where, being assisted by Artabanus and his guards, he murdered him. Hystaspes, Xerxes's second son, was next heir to the crown after Darius ; but as he was then in Bactriana, of which he was governour, Artabanus seated Artaxerxes on the throne, but did not design to suffer him to enjoy it, till such time as he had made a faction strong enough to drive him from it, and ascend it himself. His once great authority had gained him a multitude of creatures ; besides this, he had seven sons, who were of a very tall stature, handsome, strong, courageous, and raised to the highest employments in the empire. The aid he hoped to receive from them, was the chief motive of his raising his views so high. But, whilst he was attempting to compleat his design, Artaxerxes being informed of this plot by Megabyzus, who had married one of his sisters, he endeavoured to anticipate him, and killed him before he had an opportunity of putting his traiterous design in execution. His death secured to this prince the possession of the kingdom.

Thus we have seen the end of Xerxes, who was one of the most powerful princes that ever lived. It would be needless for me to anticipate the reader, with respect to the judgment he ought to form of him. Around him was diffused whatever is greatest and most august, in the opinion of mankind : the most extensive empire, at that time, in the world ;

XERXES. immense treasures, and an incredible number of land as well as naval forces: But all these things are round him, not in him, and add no lustre to his natural qualities: for, by a blindness which is too often found in princes and great men; born in the midst of all terrestrial blessings; heir to a boundless power, and surrounded with a splendor which his ancestors reflected on him, he had accustomed himself to judge of his own talents and personal merit, from the exterior of his exalted station and rank. He disregards the wise counsels of Artabanus his uncle, and of Demaratus, who only had courage enough to speak the real truth; and he abandons himself to courtiers, who worshipped his fortune, and made it their whole study to soothe his passions. He proportions, and pretends to regulate the success of his enterprizes, from the extent of his power. The slavish submission of so many nations no longer soothes his ambition; and not being affected with too easy an obedience, he takes a pleasure in exercising his power over the elements, in cutting his way through mountains, and making them navigable; in chastising the sea for having broke down his bridge, and in foolishly attempting to shackle the waves, by throwing chains into them. Elated with a childish vanity and a ridiculous pride, he looks upon himself as the arbiter of nature: He imagines, that not a nation in the world will dare to wait his arrival; and he fondly and presumptuously relies on the millions of men and ships which he drags after him. But when, after the battle of Salamis, he beheld the sad ruins, the shameful remains of his numberless troops scattered over all Greece*; he then was sensible of the wide difference there is between an army and a crowd of men. In a word, to form a true judgment of Xerxes, we need but contrast

* *Stratusque per totam passim tum ab exercitu turba distaret. Græciam Xerxes intellexit, quan- Senec. de benef. l. 6. c. 32.*

him with a citizen of Athens, as Miltades, Themistocles, or Aristides. In the latter we find good sense, prudence, skill in war, courage and greatness of soul ; in the former, vanity, pride, obstinacy ; the meanest and most groveling sentiments, and sometimes the most horrid barbarity.



BOOK THE SEVENTH.

The Antient

HISTORY

OF THE

Persians *and* Grecians

THE first and third chapters of this book include the history of the Persians and Greeks, during forty-eight years and some months, which comprehends the duration of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus; the last six years of which, answer to the six first, of the Peloponnesian war. This space of time begins at the year of the world 3531, and ends at 3579.

The second chapter comprehends the other transactions of the Greeks, which happened both in Sicily and Italy, during the interval above-mentioned.

CHAPTER I.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

THIS chapter includes the history of the Persians and Greeks, from the beginning of Artaxerxes's reign, to the Peloponnesian war, which began in the 42d year of that King's reign.

S E C T.

S E C T. I.

Artaxerxes overpowers the faction of Artabanus, and that of Hyftafpes his elder brother.

THE Greek historians give this prince the fir- An. M.
name of Longimanus. Strabo fays, it was 3531.
because his hands were fo long, that when he stood Ant. J. C.
upright he could touch his knees with them ; but ac- 473.
cording to Plutarch, it was becaufe his right hand lib. 15.
was longer than his left. Had it not been for this P. 735.
blemifh, he would have been the moft graceful man In Artax.
of his age. He was ftill more remarkable for his P. 1011.
goodnefs and generofity. He reigned about forty-
nine years.

Although Artaxerxes, by the death of Artaba- Ctes. c. 30.
nus, was delivered from a dangerous competitor,
there ftill were two obftacles in his way, before he
could get the quiet poffeffion of his throne, one ob-
ftacle was, his brother Hyftafpes, governour of Bac-
triana ; and the other, the faction of Artabanus. He
began by the latter.

Artabanus had left feven fons, and a great num-
ber of Partifans, who foon met together to revenge
his death. Thefe, and the adherents of Artaxerxes
fought a bloody battle, in which a great number of
Persian nobles loft their lives. Artaxerxes having at
laft quite defeated his enemies, put to death all
who had engaged-in this plot. He took an exem-
plary vengeance of thofe who were concerned in
his father's murder, and particularly of Mithridates
the eunuch, who had betrayed him, and who was
executed in the following manner. He was laid on Plut. in
his back in a kind of horfe-trough, and ftroglly Artax.
faftned to the four corners of it. Every part of him P. 1019.
except his head, his hands and feet, which came out
at holes made for that purpofe, was covered with a-
nother trough. In this horrid fituation victuals were

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

given him from time to time ; and in case of his refusal to eat it, they forced it down his throat : honey mixed with milk was given him to drink, and all his face was smeared with it, which by that means, attracted a numberless multitude of flies, especially as he was for ever exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. The worms which bred in his excrements prey'd upon his bowels. The criminal generally lived fifteen or twenty days in inexpressible torture.

Ctes. c. 31. Artaxerxes having crushed the faction of Artabanus, was powerful enough to send an army into Bactriana, which had declared in favour of his brother ; but he was not successful on this occasion. The two armies engaging, Hytaspes stood his ground so well, that, if he did not gain the victory, he at least sustained no loss ; so that both armies separated with equal success ; and each retired, to prepare for a second battle. Artaxerxes having raised a greater army than his brother, (not to mention that the whole empire declared in his favour) defeated him in a second engagement, and quite crushed the opposite faction. By this victory he secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire.

Diod.

l. II. p. 54 To maintain himself in the throne, he removed all such governours of cities and provinces from their employments, as he suspected to hold a correspondence with either of the factions he had overcome, and filled them with others whom he could safely trust. He afterwards applied himself to the reforming of the abuses and disorders which had crept into the government. By his wise conduct (every part of which was directed to the publick welfare) he soon acquired great reputation and authority, and won the love of his subjects, this being the strongest basis on which the power of sovereigns is founded.

SECT. II.

Themistocles flies to Artaxerxes.

ACCORDING to Thucydides, Themistocles fled to this prince in the beginning of his reign; but other authors, as Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus, fix this incident under Xerxes his predecessor. Dr. Prideaux is of the latter opinion; he likewise thinks, that the Artaxerxes in question, is the same with him who is called Ahasuerus in scripture, and who married Esther: but we suppose with the learned archbishop Usher, that it was Darius the son of Hystaspes who made this illustrious Jewess his consort in the throne. I have already declared more than once, that I would not engage in controversies of this kind; and therefore, with regard to this flight of Themistocles, into Persia, and the history of Esther, I shall follow the opinion of the learned Usher, my usual guide on these occasions.

We have related, that Themistocles had fled to Admetus king of the Molossi, and had met with a gracious reception from him: But the Athenians and Lacedæmonians would not suffer him to live in peace, and required that prince to deliver him up; threatening, in case of his refusal, to carry their arms into his country. Admetus, who was unwilling to draw such formidable enemies upon himself, and much more to deliver up the man who had fled to him for refuge; informed him of the great danger to which he was exposed, and favoured his flight. Themistocles went as far by land as Pydna, a city of Macedonia, and there embarked on board a merchant-man which was sailing to Ionia. None of the passengers knew him. A storm having carried this vessel near the island of Naxos, then besieged by the Athenians; the imminent danger to which Themistocles was exposed, obliged him to discover himself

Thucyd. l. 1. p 90.
21.
Plut. in Themist. p. 125, 127
Diod. l. 11. p. 42, 44
Cornel. Nep. in Themist. c. 8, 10.

ARTAX. to the pilot and master of the ship ; after which he,
 LONGIM. by intreaties and menaces, forced them to sail to-
 wards Asia.

Plut. in
 Themist.
 p. 112.

Themistocles might on this occasion call to mind the advice which his father had given him when an infant, viz. to lay very little stress on the favour of the common people. They were then walking together in the harbour. His father, pointing to some rotten galleys that lay neglected on the strand ; *Behold there, says he, son, (pointing to them ;) thus do the people treat their governours, when they can do them no farther service.*

Two hun-
 dred
 thousand
 crowns.

He was now arrived in Cumæ, a city of Æolia in Asia minor. The king of Persia had set a price upon his head, and promised two hundred talents to any man who should deliver him up. The whole coast was covered with people, who were watching for him. He fled to Ægæ, a little city of Æolia, where no one knew him except Nicogenes, at whose house he lodged. He was the most wealthy man in that country, and very intimate with all the lords of the Persian court. Themistocles was concealed some days in his house, till Nicogenes sent him, under a strong guard, to Susa, in one of those covered chariots in which the Persians, who were extremely jealous, use to carry their wives ; those who carried him told every one they met, that they were carrying a young Greek lady to a courtier of great distinction.

Being come to the Persian court, he waited upon the captain of the guards, and told him, that he was a Grecian by birth ; and begged the king to admit him to audience, he having some matters of great importance to communicate to him. The officer informed him of a ceremony, which he knew was insupportable to some Greeks, but without which none were allowed to speak to the king ; and this was, to fall prostrate before him. “ Our laws,” says he, “ commands us, to honour the king in
 “ that

‘ that manner ; and to worship him as the living
 ‘ image of the immortal God, who maintains and
 ‘ preserves all things.” Themistocles promised to
 comply. Being admitted to audience, he fell on his
 face before the king, and worshipped him ; and af-
 terwards rising up, “ Mighty * monarch,” says he
 by an interpreter, “ I am Themistocles the Athe-
 “ nian, who having been banished by the Greeks,
 “ am come to your court, in hopes of meeting
 “ with an asylum in it. I indeed have brought
 “ many calamities on the Persians ; but, on the o-
 “ ther side, I have done them as many services in
 “ proportion, by the salutary advices I have given
 “ them more than once ; and I now am able to do
 “ them more important services than ever. My
 “ life is in your hands. You may now exert your
 “ clemency, or display your vengeance, as you shall
 “ think fit : By the former you will serve an hum-
 “ ble petitioner ; by the latter you will destroy the
 “ greatest enemy to Greece.”

The king made him no answer at this audience, though he was filled with admiration at his great sense and boldness ; but history informs us, he told his friends, that he considered Themistocles’s arrival as a very great happiness ; that he implored his god Arimanius to inspire his enemies with ideas like these ; and to prompt them to banish and make away with their most illustrious personages. It is added, that when this king was asleep, he started up through excess of joy, and cried thrice, *I have got Themistocles the Athenian !*

The next morning, at day-break, he sent for the greatest lords of his court, and commanded Themistocles to be brought before him, who now expected the worst of evils ; especially after that one of his guards, after hearing his name, had said to him

* *Thucydides makes him say not speak them to the king, but very near the same words ; but sent them by way of letter before informs us, that Themistocles did be was introduced to him.*

ARTAX.
LONGINUS.

Two hun-
dred thou-
sand
French
crowns.

the night before, even in the presence chamber, just as he had left the king, *Thou serpent of Greece, thou compound of artifice and malice, the good genius of our prince brings thee hither !* However, the serenity which was diffused over the king's face, seemed to promise him a favourable reception. Themistocles was not mistaken, for the king began by making him a present of two hundred talents, which sum he had promised to any one who should deliver him up, and which consequently was his due, since Themistocles had brought him his head, by surrendering himself to him. He afterwards desired him to give an account of the affairs of Greece. But as Themistocles could not express his thoughts to the king without the assistance of an interpreter, he desired leave might be allowed him to learn the Persian tongue ; hoping he then should be able to explain himself those things he was desirous of communicating to him, better than by the aid of a third person. It is the same, says he, with the speech of man, as with a piece of tapestry, which must be laid open and unfolded, to show the figures and other beauties wrought in it. Themistocles having studied the Persian tongue twelve months, made so great a progress, that he spoke it with greater elegance than the Persians themselves, and consequently could converse with the king without the help of an interpreter. This prince indulged him uncommon marks of friendship and esteem ; he made him marry a lady who was descended from one of the noblest families in Persia ; he gave him a palace and an equipage suitable to it, and settled a noble pension on him. He used to take him in his parties of hunting, and in every banquet and entertainment ; and sometimes conversed privately with him, insomuch that the great lords of the court grew jealous and uneasy upon that account. He even presented him to the princesses, who honoured him with their esteem, and allowed him access to them.

It

It is observed, as a proof of the peculiar favour ^{ARTAX.} which was indulged him, that by the king's special ^{LONGIM.} order, Themistocles was admitted to hear the lectures and discourses of the Magi, and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their philosophy.

Another proof is given of the great credit he enjoyed. Demaratus of Sparta, who was then at court, being commanded by the king to ask any thing of him ; he desired that he might be suffered to make his entry, on horseback, into the city of Sardes, with the royal tiara on his head : a ridiculous vanity ! equally unworthy of the Grecian grandeur, and the simplicity of a Lacedæmonian ! The king, exasperated at the insolence of his demand, expressed his disgust in the strongest terms, and seemed resolved not to pardon him : but Themistocles having interceded, the king restored him to favour.

In fine, Themistocles was in such great credit, that under the succeeding reigns, in which the affairs of Persia were still more blended with those of Greece ; whenever the kings were desirous of drawing over some Greek to their interest, they used to declare expressly in their letters, that he should be in greater favour with them, than Themistocles had been with king Artaxerxes.

We are also told that Themistocles, when in his most flourishing state in Persia, when he was honoured and esteemed by all men who were emulous in making their court to him, said one day, when his table was covered with the most sumptuous dainties of every kind : *Children ; our ruin would have been inevitable, had we not been ruined.*

But at last, as it was judged necessary for the king's interest, that Themistocles should reside in some city of Asia minor, that he might be ready on any occasion which should present itself ; accordingly he was sent to Magnesia, situated on the Meander ; and there was assigned for his subsistence, (besides the whole revenues of this city which amounted to fifty ^{Fifty thousand} talents ^{crowns.}

ARTAX. talents every year) those of Myunte and Lampacus.
 LONGIM. One of the cities was to furnish him with bread, another with wine, and a third with viands. Some authors add two more, viz. for his furniture and clothes. Such was the custom of the antient kings of the east: instead of settling pensions on persons they were desirous of rewarding, they bestowed cities and sometimes even provinces, which, under the name of bread, wine, &c. were to furnish them abundantly with all things necessary for supporting in a magnificent manner their family and equipage. Themistocles lived for some years in Magnesia in the utmost splendor, till he came to his end in the manner which will be related hereafter.

S E C T. III.

Cimon begins to make a figure in Athens. His first achievements and double victory gained over the Persians, near the river Eurymedon. Death of Themistocles.

An. M. THE Athenians having lost one of their most
 3534. distinguished citizens, as well as ablest generals,
 Ant. J. C. by the banishment of Themistocles, endeavoured
 470. to compensate this loss, by bestowing the command
 Diod. l. 11. of the armies on Cimon, who was not inferior
 p. 45. to him in merit.

Cim. p. 482, 483. He spent his youth in such excesses, as were no
 ways honourable to him, and prefigured no good with
 Plut. in regard to his future conduct. The example of this
 Cim. p. illustrious Athenian, who passed his juvenile years in
 480. so dissolute a manner, and afterwards rose to so exalted
 a pitch of glory, show, that parents must not always
 despair of the happiness of their children, when they are
 profligate in their youth; especially when nature has
 endued them with sense, good-nature, a rectitude of
 mind, and an esteem for persons of merit. Such was the
 character of Cimon. The ill reputation he had drawn
 upon himself, having

ving prejudiced the people against him ; he at first ARTAX. LONGIM.
 was very ill received by them ; when, being dejected
 at this repulse, he was resolved to lay aside all
 thoughts of concerning himself with state-affairs.
 But Aristides perceiving that his dissolute turn of mind
 was blended with many fine qualities, he comforted
 him, inspired him with hope, pointed out the path
 he should strike into, instilled good principles into
 him ; and did not a little contribute, by the excel-
 lent instructions he gave him, and the affection he
 indulged him on all occasions, to make him the man
 he afterwards appeared : What more important ser-
 vice could he have done his country ?

Plutarch observes, that after Cimon had laid aside Ibid.
 his juvenile flights, his conduct was in all things P. 485.
 great and noble ; and that he was not inferiour to
 Miltiades either in courage or intrepidity, nor to
 Themistocles in prudence and sense, but that he was
 more just and virtuous than either of them ; and that
 being not inferiour to them with regard to the exer-
 cise of the military virtues, he surpassed them far in
 the practice of the moral virtues.

It must necessarily be of great advantage to a go-
 vernment, would those who excell in professions of
 every kind, take a pleasure, and make it their duty
 to fashion and instruct such youths as are born with
 good dispositions. Hereby they would have an op-
 portunity of serving their country even after their
 death ; and of perpetuating in it, in the person of
 their pupils, a taste and inclination for true merit,
 and the practice of the wisest maxims.

The Athenians, a little after Themistocles had left
 his Country, having put to sea a fleet under the
 command of Cimon the son of Miltiades, and took
 Eion, standing on the banks of the Strymon, Ara-
 phipolis, and other places of Thrace : and as this
 was a very fruitful country, Cimon planted a colony
 in it, and sent ten thousand Athenians for that
 purpose.

ARTAX.

LONGIM.

Herod.

l. 7. c. 107.

Plut. p.

482.

The fate of Eion is of so singular a kind, that I cannot but take notice of it here. Boges * was governor of it under the king of Persia, and he displayed such a zeal and fidelity for his sovereign, as are rarely found. When besieged by Cimon and the Athenians, it was in his power to have capitulated upon honourable terms, and he might have retired to Asia with his family and all his effects. However, being persuaded he could not do this with honour, he resolved to die rather than surrender, and thereupon the city was assaulted with the utmost fury, and he defended it with incredible bravery. Being at last in the utmost want of provisions, he threw from the walls, into the river Strymon, all the gold and silver in the city ; and now, causing fire to be set to a pile : and having murdered his wife, his children, and his whole family, he threw them into the midst of the flame, and afterwards rushed into them himself. Xerxes could not but admire, and at the same time bewail, so surprizing an example of generosity. The heathens, indeed, might give it this name, but it is rather a savage cruelty.

Cimon also won the island of Scyros, where he found the bones of Theseus the son of Ægeus, who had fled from Athens to that city, and there ended his days. An oracle had commanded that search should be made after his bones. Cimon then put them on board his galley, adorned them richly, and carried them to his native country, near eight hundred years after Theseus had left it. The people received them with the highest testimonies of joy ; and, to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, they founded a disputation or contest for tragick writers which became very famous, and contributed

* Plutarch calls him Butis. probable, that it happened under Herodotus seems to place this history under Xerxes ; but it is more Artaxerxes his successor.

teatly to the improvement of the drama, by the wonderful emulation it excited in the tragick poets, whose pieces were exhibited in it. For Sophocles having, in his youth, brought his first play then on the stage; the archon, or chief magistrate who presided at these games, observing there was a strong action among the spectators, prevailed with Cimon, and the rest of the generals his colleagues, who were ten in number, and chosen out of each tribe) to sit as judges. The prize was then decreed to Sophocles, which so deeply afflicted Æschylus, who till then had been considered as the greatest dramatick poet, that Athens was now insupportable to him, and therefore he withdrew to Sicily, where he died.

The confederates had taken a great number of Plut. in Barbarian prisoners in Sestus and Byzantium; and, Cim. as a proof of the high regard they had for Cimon, P. 484- intreated him to make the distribution of the booty. Accordingly Cimon placed all the captives, (stark naked) on one side, and on the other all their riches and spoils. The allies complained of this partition as too unequal; but Cimon giving them the choice, they immediately took the riches which had belonged to the Persians, and left the prisoners for the Athenians. Cimon therefore set out with his portion, and was thought a person no ways qualified to settle the distribution of prizes: For the allies carried off a great number of chains, necklaces and bracelets of gold; a large quantity of rich dresses, and fine purple cloaks; whilst the Athenians had only for their share a multitude of human creatures quite naked, and unfit for labour. However, the relations and friends of these captives came soon after from Phrygia and Lydia, and then purchased them all at a very high price; so that, with the monies arising from the ransom of them, Cimon had wherewithal to maintain his fleet four months; besides a great sum of money which was put into the exchequer, not to

AREAX.
LONGIM.

mention what he himself had for his own share. He afterwards used to take exceeding pleasure, in relating this incident to his friends.

Plut. in
Cim.

p. 484.
Cornel.

Nep. in

Cim. c. 4.
Athen.

l. 12.

p. 533.

He made the best use of his riches, as Gorgias the rhetor has happily expressed it in few, but strong and elegant words. * *Cimon*, says he, *amassed riches, purely to make use of them; and he employed them to no other use, but to acquire esteem and honour.*

We may here perceive (by the way) what was the scope and aim of the most exalted actions of the heathens; and with what justice Tertullian defined a pagan, how perfect soever he might appear, a vain-glorious animal, *animal gloriæ*. The gardens and orchards of Cimon were always open, by his order, to the citizens in general; they being allowed to gather whatever fruits they might want. His table was daily covered in a frugal, but polite manner. It was entirely different from those delicate and sumptuous tables, to which only a few persons of great distinction are admitted; and which are spread merely to make a vain parade of magnificence or elegance of taste. Now that of Cimon was plain, but abundant; and all the poor citizens were allowed access to it. In thus banishing from his entertainments, whatever had the least air of ostentation and luxury, he reserved to himself an inexhaustible fund, not only for the expences of his house, but also for the wants of his friends, his domesticks, and a very great number of citizens; proving, by this conduct, that he knew much better than most rich men, the true use of riches, and the designs for which they are bestowed.

He was always followed by some servants, who were ordered to slip privately some piece of silver into the hand of such poor as they met, and to give clothes to those who were in want of them. He often buried such persons as had not left money e-

* *Ὅστιν τὴν Κίμωνι τὰ χρήματα κλέπτει μὴ ὡς χρῆτο, κλέπτει οὐκ ὡς πλεονέκτης.*

rough behind them to defray the expences of their funeral ; and a noble circumstance, as Plutarch observes, is, that he did not exert these acts of charity, to gain credit among the people, nor to purchase their voices ; since we find him, on all occasions, ever declaring for the contrary faction, that is, in favour of such citizens as were most remarkable for their wealth or authority.

Although he saw all the rest of the governours of his time enrich themselves by the plunder and oppression of the publick, he yet was for ever incorruptible, and his hands were never stained with extortion or the smallest present ; and he continued, during his whole life, not only to speak, but also to act, spontaneously and without the least view to interest, whatever he thought might be of advantage to the commonwealth.

Besides a great number of other excellent qualities, Cimon possessed the finest sense, a rare prudence, and a profound knowledge of the genius and dispositions of men. The allies, besides the sums of money which each of them was taxed, were to furnish a certain number of men and ships. Several among them, who, since the retreat of Xerxes, were studious of nothing but their ease, and applied themselves entirely to the tilling and cultivating of their lands, to free themselves from the toils and dangers of war, chose to furnish their quota in money rather than in men, and left the Athenians the care of manning with soldiers and rowers, those ships they had agreed to furnish. The other generals, who had no forecast, and did not extend their views to futurity, gave that people some uneasiness at first, and would oblige them to observe the treaty literally. But Cimon, when in power, acted in a quite different manner, he not once disturbing their repose ; plainly perceiving that the allies, though before so brave in the field, would insensibly lose their martial spirit, and be fit for nothing but hus-

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

Plut. in
Cim.
P. 485.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

bandry and trade; whilst that the Athenians, by their exercising the oar perpetually, would be more and more inured to hardships, and rise daily in power. What Cimon had foreseen happened; this very people purchased themselves masters at their own expence; so that they who before had been companions and allies, were become, in some measure, the subjects and tributaries of the Athenians.

A. M.

3534.

Ant. J. C.

470.

Plut. in

Cim. p.

485--487.

Thucyd.

l. i. p. 66.

Diod. l. i. 1.

p. 45--47.

No Grecian general ever gave so great a blow to the pride and haughtiness of the Persian monarch as Cimon. After that the Barbarians had been drove out of Greece, he did not give them time to take breath; but sailed swiftly after them with a fleet of upwards of two hundred ships, took their strongest cities, and bribed all their allies; so that the king of Persia had not one soldier left in all Asia, from Ionia to Pamphylia. Driving still forward, he bravely attacked the enemy's fleet, though much stronger than his own. It lay near the mouth of the river Eurymedon, and consisted of three hundred and fifty sail of ships, and sustained by the land-army which was incamped on the shore. It was soon put to flight; and two hundred sail were taken, besides those that were sunk. A great number of the Persians had left their ships and leapt into the sea, in order to go and join their land-army, which lay on the shore. It was very hazardous to attempt a descent in sight of the enemy; and to lead on troops, which were quite harrassed by their late battle, against fresh forces who were much superior in number. However Cimon, finding that the whole army was eager to engage with the Barbarians, thought proper to take advantage of this ardour of the soldiers, who were greatly animated with their first success. Accordingly he * landed, and

* We don't find that the antigallies were flat-bottomed, the patients made use of long-boats in making descents; the reason of any difficulty. were brought to shore without any difficulty.

arched them directly against the Barbarians, who ^{ARTAX.} aided resolutely for their coming up, and sustained ^{LENGIM.} the first onset with prodigious valour; however, being at last obliged to retire, they were broke and ^{ed.} A great slaughter was made; and a numberless multitude of prisoners, and immensely-rich spoils were taken. Cimon having, in one day, gained two victories which almost equalled those of Salamis and Plataea; to crown it, he sailed out to meet a reinforcement of eighty four Phœnician ships, which were come from Cyprus, to join the Persian fleet, and knew nothing of what had passed. Coming to a battle, they all were either taken or sunk, and most of the soldiers were killed or drowned.

Cimon having atchieved such glorious exploits, returned in triumph to Athens; and employed part of the spoils in fortifying the harbour, and in beautifying the city. The riches which a general amasses in his campaign, are put to the noblest uses when they are disposed of in this manner; and must reflect infinitely greater honour upon him, than if he expended them in building magnificent palaces for himself, which must one time or other devolve on strangers; whereas works, built for publick use, are his property in some measure for ever; and transmit his name to latest posterity. It is well ^{Plut. de} known that such embellishments in a city give in- ^{ge end.} finite pleasure to the people, who are always struck ^{rep p. 818.} with this kind of decorations; and this, as Plutarch observes in the life of Cimon, is one of the surest, and at the same time, the most lawful method of gaining their friendship and esteem.

The year following, this general sailed towards the ^{Plut. in} Hellespont; and having drove the Persians out of the ^{Cim.} Thracian Chersonnesus, of which they had possessed ^{p. 487.} themselves, he subdued it in the name of the Athenians, ^{Luc. d.} though he himself had more right to it, as Miltiades ^{11. p. 66,} his father had enjoyed the sovereignty thereof. He ^{67.} afterwards ^{Diod.} ^{11. p. 53.}

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

Polyæn.
Str. l. 2.

Polyæn.
l. 8.

afterwards fought the people of the island of Thasos, who had revolted from the Athenians, and he defeated their fleet. These carried on their rebellion with an almost unparalleled obstinacy and fury. As though they were to engage cruel and barbarous enemies, from whom they had the worst of evils to fear, they made a law, that the first man who should only mention the concluding a treaty with the Athenians, should be put to death. The siege was carried on three years, during which the inhabitants suffered all the calamities of war, and yet would not yield. The women were as inflexibly-brave as the men; for the besieged wanting ropes for their military engines, all the women cut off their hair in a seeming transport, and accordingly employed it as ropes. A grievous famine breaking out in the city, which swept away a great number of the inhabitants, Hegetorides the Thasian, deeply afflicted at the death of such multitudes of his fellow-citizens, resolutely determined to sacrifice his life to save the city. Accordingly he threw a halter round his neck, when presenting himself to the assembly, "Countrymen," says he, "do with me as you please, and don't spare me if you judge proper: but let my death save the rest of the people, and prevail with you to abolish the cruel law you have enacted, so contrary to your welfare." The Thasians struck with these words, abolished the law, but would not suffer so generous a citizen to give up his life; for they surrendered themselves to the Athenians, who spared their lives and only dismantled their city.

After that Cimon had landed his troops on the shore opposite to Thrace, he seized on all the gold mines of those coasts, and subdued every part of that country as far as Macedonia. He might have attempted the conquest of it; and, in all probability, could have easily possessed himself of part of that kingdom, had he snatched the opportunity. And indeed

ceed, for his neglect in this particular, he, at ^{ARTAX.} his return to Athens, was prosecuted, as though he ^{LONGIM.} had been bribed by the money of the Macedonians and of Alexander their king. But Cimon had a soul superiour to all temptations of that kind, and fully proved his innocence in the clearest light.

The conquests of Cimon and the power of the Athenians which increased every day, gave Artax-^{A. M. 3538.} ^{Ant. J. C. 466.} ^{Thucyd. l. i. p. 92.} ^{Plut. in Themist. p. 127.} raxes great uneasiness. To prevent the consequences of it, he resolved to send Themistocles into Attica, with a great army, and accordingly proposed this to him.

Themistocles was now in great perplexity. On one side, the remembrance of the favours the king had lavished on him; the positive assurances he had given that monarch, to serve him with the utmost zeal on all occasions; the urgent order sent by the king who claimed his promise; all these considerations would not permit him to refuse the commission. On the other side, his country's love, which the injustice and ill treatment he had met with from his fellow-citizens could not craze from his mind, the strong reluctance he had to tarnish the lustre of his former laurels and his mighty achievements, by so ignominious a step; perhaps too, the fear of being unsuccessful in a war, in which he should be opposed by excellent generals, and particularly Cimon, who seemed to be as successful as valiant; these various reflections would not suffer him to declare against his country, in an enterprize, which, whether it was successful or not, would bring shame on him.

To rid himself at once of all these inward struggles, he resolved to murder * himself; thinking this the only method for him not to be want-

* The wisest heathens, did not think that a man was allowed to lay violent hands on himself.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

ing in the duty he owed his country, nor to the promises he had made that prince. He therefore prepared a solemn sacrifice, to which he invited all his friends; when, after embracing them all, and taking a last farewell of them, he drank some bullock's blood; or, according to others, swallowed a dose of poyson, which did immediate execution; and died in this manner at Magnesia, aged threescore and five years, the greatest part of which he had spent either at the head of the commonwealth, or of the armies. When the king was told the cause and manner of his death, he esteemed and admired him still more; so that he continued his favour to his friends and domesticks. But the unexpected death of Themistocles, proved an obstacle to the design he meditated of attacking the Greeks. The Magnesians erected a splendid monument to the memory of that general in the publick square; and granted peculiar privileges and honours to his descendants. They still enjoyed them in Plutarch's time, that is near six hundred years after, and the mausolæum was then standing.

Cic. de
Senect.
n. 72.

BRUT.

n. 42, 43.

Atticus, in the beautiful dialogue of Cicero, entitled Brutus, refutes, in an agreeable and ingenious manner, the tragical end which some writers assure us that Themistocles came to, as related above; pretending that the whole is a fiction, invented by rhetoricians, who, on the bare rumour that was spread, viz. that this great man had poysoned himself, had added all the other particulars to embellish the story, which otherwise would have been very dry and jejune. He appeals for this to Thucydides, that judicious historian, who was of Athens, and almost cotemporary with Themistocles. This author indeed owns, that a report had prevailed, that this general had poisoned himself; however, his opinion was, that he died a natural death; and that his friends conveyed his bones secretly to Athens, where, in Pausanias's time, his mausolæum

Lib. I.
p. 1.

nanfolæum was standing near the great harbour. ^{ARTAX.}
This account seems much more probable than the LONGIM.
other.

Themistocles was certainly one of the greatest men that Greece ever gave birth to. He was informed with a magnanimous soul, an invincible courage, which danger even inflamed; was fired with an incredible thirst for glory, which sometimes his country's love could temper and allay, though at other times it prompted him to carry it too far; * he possessed so great a presence of mind, that it suggested to him at once how to act: In fine, he was master of a sagacity and penetration with regard to futurity, which revealed to him, in the clearest light, the most secret designs of his enemies; pointed out to him, from far, the several measures he should take to disconcert them, and inspired him with great, noble, bold, extensive views with regard to the honour of his country. But then he was not blessed with the most essential qualities of the mind, I mean, with probity, sincerity, and integrity: nor was he altogether free from suspicions of avarice, which is a great blemish to a statesman.

Nevertheless, a noble thought as well as action ^{Plut in}
are related of him, which speak a great and disinte- ^{Themist.}
rested soul. † His daughter being sought for in P. 121.
marriage, he preferred an honest poor man, to one
who was very wealthy, but of an indifferent cha-
racter; and said, *That in the choice of a son-in-law,*
be would much rather have merit without riches, than
riches without merit.

* De instantibus, ut ait, Thucydides, verissimè judicabat, & de futuris callidissimè conjiciebat. *Corn. Nep. in Themist. cap. 1.*

an minùs probato diviti filiam collocaret: E GO VERO, inquit, MALO VIRUM QUI PECUNIA EGREAT, QUAM PECUNIAM QUE VIRO. *Cic. de Offic.*

† Themistocles, cùm consuleretur utrum bono viro pauperi,

1. 2. c. 71.

qui, in meritis suis
inval

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

S E C T. IV.

The Egyptians rise against Persia, supported by the Athenians.

An. M. 3538. **I**N the mean time the Egyptians, to free themselves from a foreign yoke which was insupportable to them, revolted from Artaxerxes, and made Inarus, prince of the Lybians, their king. Ant. J. C. 460. They invoked the aid of the Athenians, who having at that time a fleet of two hundred ships lying off the island of Cyprus, accepted the invitation with pleasure, and immediately set sail for Egypt; looking on this as a very favourable opportunity for them to weaken the power of the Persians, by driving them from so great a kingdom. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 68. & 71, 72. Ctes. c. 32--35. Diod. l. 11. p. 54--59.

A. M. 3545. **A**dvice being brought Artaxerxes of this revolt, he raised an army of three hundred thousand men, and resolved to march in person against the rebels. Ant. J. C. 459. But his friends advising him not to venture himself in that expedition, he gave the command of it to Achæmenes, one of his brothers. The latter being arrived in Egypt, he encamped his great army on the banks of the Nile. During this interval, the Athenians having defeated the Persian fleet, and either destroyed or taken fifty of their ships; they went again up that river, landed their forces under the command of Charitimus their general; and having joined Inarus and his Egyptians, they all charged Achæmenes, and defeated him in a mighty battle, in which that Persian general, and an hundred thousand of his soldiers were slain. Those who escaped fled to Memphis, whither the conquerors pursued them, and immediately made themselves masters of the quarters or divisions of the city: but the Persians having fortified themselves in the third, called the *white wall*, which was the

the largest and strongest of the three; they were ^{ARTAX.} besieged in it near three years, during which they ^{LONGIM.} made a most vigorous defence, till they were at last delivered by the forces that were sent to their succour.

Artaxerxes hearing of the defeat of his army, ^{A. M.} and how much the Athenians had contributed to ^{3546.} it; to make a diversion of their forces, and oblige ^{Ant. J. C.} them to turn their arms another way, he sent em- ^{456.} bassadors to the Lacedæmonians, with a large sum of money, to engage them to proclaim war against the Athenians. But the Lacedæmonians having rejected the offer, their refusal did not slacken his ardor, and accordingly he invested Megabyfus ^{A. M.} and Artabazus with the command of the forces ^{3547.} designed against Egypt. These generals immedi- ^{Ant. J. C.} ately raised an army of three hundred thousand ^{457.} men, in Cilicia and Phœnicia. They were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped, which spun out the time till the next year. Artabazus then as- ^{A. M.} sumed the command of it, and sailed towards the ^{3548.} Nile, whilst Megabyfus, at the head of the land ^{Ant. J. C.} army, marched towards Memphis. He raised the ^{456.} siege of that city, and afterwards fought Inarus. All the forces on both sides engaged in this battle, in which Inarus was entirely defeated: but the Egyptians, who had rebelled, suffered most in this slaughter. After this defeat, Inarus, though wounded by Megabyfus, he yet retreated with the Athenians, and such Egyptians as were willing to follow him; and reaching Biblos, a city in the island of Prosopis, which is surrounded by two arms of the Nile, and both navigable. The Athenians ran their fleet into one of these arms, where it was secured from the attacks of the enemy; and held out a siege during a year and a half in this island.

After the battle, all the rest of Egypt submitted to the Conqueror, and was reunited to the empire of Artaxerxes, except Amyrtea, which had still a small

ARTAX. small party in the fens, whence they could not be
LONGIN. dislodg'd for a long time, because of the difficulties the Persians met with in crossing over to them.

A. M. The siege of Prosopis was still carrying on. The
3550. Persians finding that they made no advances in attacking it after the usual methods, because of the stratagems and intrepidity of the besieged; they therefore had recourse to an extraordinary expedient, which soon produced what force had not been able to effect. They quite emptied, by different canals, the arm of the Nile in which the Athenian fleet lay; and by that means opened themselves a passage for their whole army to enter the island. Inarus seeing that all was lost, compounded with Megabyfus for himself, for all his Egyptians, and about fifty Athenians; and surrendred upon condition that all their lives should be spared. The remainder of the auxiliary forces, which formed a body of six thousand men, resolved to hold out longer; and for this purpose, they set fire to their ships; when drawing up in order of battle, they resolved to die sword in hand, and sell their lives at the dearest rate, in imitation of the Lacedæmonians, who refused to yield, and were all cut to pieces at the Thermopylæ. The Persians, hearing they had taken this desperate resolution, did not think it adviseable to attack them. A peace was therefore offered them, with a promise that they should all be permitted to leave Egypt; for which purpose a free passage to their native country should be allowed them, either by sea or land. They accepted the conditions; put the conquerors in possession of Byblos and of the whole island, and went by sea to Cyrene, where they embarked for Greece: but most of the soldiers who had served in this expedition perished in it.

But this was not the only loss the Athenians sustained on this occasion. Another fleet of fifty ships, which they sent to the succour of their countrymen

countrymen who was besieged, sailed up one of the arms of the Nile, (just after the Athenians had surrendered) in order to disengage them; they not knowing what had happened. But the instant they were got in, the Persian fleet, which was out at sea, came and attacked their rear, whilst the army discharged their arrows at them from the banks of the river; thus only a few ships escaped, which drove quite through the enemy's fleet, and all the rest were lost. Here ended the fatal war which the Athenians had carried on six years in Egypt, which kingdom was now united again to the Persian empire, and continued so during the rest of the reign of Artaxerxes, it being then the twentieth year of it. But the prisoners who were taken in this war met with the most unhappy fate.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

A. M.
3550.
Ant. J. C.
454.

S E C T. V.

Inarus is delivered up to the king's mother, contrary to the articles of the treaty. The affliction of Megabysus, who revolts.

ARTAXERXES, after refusing to gratify the request of his mother, who for five years together had been daily importuning him to deliver to her Inarus and his Athenians, in order that she might sacrifice them to the manes of Achæmenes her son, at last yielded to her solicitations. But how blind, how barbarously-weak must this king have been, in thus breaking the most solemn oaths merely to indulge a silly complaisance; who, (deaf to remorse) infringed the law of nations, merely out of fear of afflicting a mother, who had made a most cruel and unjust request! This inhuman princess, in defiance of the conditions which had been so solemnly ratified, caused Inarus to be crucified, and beheaded all the rest. Megabysus

A. M.
3556.
Ant. J. C.
448.
Ctes.

c. 35-40.

Thucyd.
l. 1. p. 72.

ARTAX. bysus was in the deepest affliction on that account ;
 LONGIM. for as he had promised that no injury should be
 done them, the affront recoiled principally on him.
 He therefore left the court, and withdrew to Syria,
 of which he was governour ; and his discontent
 was so great, that he raised an army and revolted
 openly.

A. M. The king sent Osiris, who was one of the great-
 3557. est lords of the court, against him with an army of
 Ant. J. C. two hundred thousand men. Megabyfus engaged
 447. Osiris, wounded him, took him prisoner, and put
 his army to flight. Artaxerxes sending to demand
 Osiris, Megabyfus gave him generously back, as
 soon as his wounds were healed.

An. M. The next year, Artaxerxes sent another army
 3558. against him, the command of which he gave to
 Ant. J. C. Menostanes, son to Artarius the king's brother,
 446. and governour of Babylon. This general was not
 more fortunate than the former. He also was de-
 feated and put to flight ; and Megabyfus gained
 as signal a victory as the former.

Artaxerxes finding he could not subdue him by
 force of arms, sent his brother Artarius and Amy-
 tis his sister, who was the wife of Megabyfus, with
 several other persons of the first quality, to per-
 suade the latter to return to his allegiance. They
 succeeded in their negotiation ; the king pardoned
 him, and he returned to court.

One day as they were hunting, a lion raising
 himself on his hinder feet, was going to rush upon
 the king, when Megabyfus seeing the danger he
 was in, and fired with zeal and affection for his
 sovereign, hurled a dart at the lion, which killed
 him. But Artaxerxes, upon pretence that he had
 affronted him, in darting at the lion first, com-
 manded Megabyfus's head to be struck off : and
 it was with the utmost difficulty that Amytis his
 sister, and Amestris his mother, prevailed with
 the king to change this sentence to perpetual ba-
 nishment.

ment. Megabyfus was therefore ſent to Cyrta, ^{ARTAX.}
 ity ſtanding on the red-ſea, and ſentenced to ^{LONGIM.}

his days in it: However, five years after, ſuſing himſelf like a leper, he fled and returned to Suſa, where, by the aſſiſtance of his wife and other-in-law, he was reſtored to favour, and ended it till his death, which happened ſome years after, in the ſeventy-fixth year of his age. Megabyfus was extremely regretted by the king and the whole court. He poſſeſſed the fineſt abilities any man in the kingdom, and at the ſame time as the greateſt general. Artaxerxes owed both his crown and life to him: * but it is of dangerous conſequence to a ſubject, when his ſovereign is bound to him by too many obligations. This was the cauſe of all the calamities which beſet Megabyfus.

It is ſurprizing that ſo judicious a prince as Artaxerxes, ſhould have been ſo imprudent, as to be fired with jealousy againſt a nobleman of his court, merely becauſe he, in a party of hunting, had firſt darted at the beaſt that was chaſing. Could any thing be ſo weak; and was this placing the point of honour in a manner worthy a king? Nevertheless, hiſtory furniſhes us with many inſtances of this. I am apt to believe from ſome expreſſions of Plutarch, that Artaxerxes was aſhamed of the wild fury to which this falſe idea of glory had raiſed him, and that he made ſome publick kind of atonement for it: For, according to this author, he publiſhed a decree, importing, that any man who was hunting with the king, ſhould be allowed to hurl the javelin firſt at the beaſt, if an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf for that purpoſe; and he, according to Plutarch, was the firſt monarch who granted ſuch a permiſſion.

Plut in
 Apoph-
 thegm.
 p. 173.

* Beneficia eò uſque læta ſunt, dum videntur exolvi poſſe: *Tacit. Anal.*
 ubi multum antevertere, pro gra- *lib. 4. cap. 18.*

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

S E C T VI.

Artaxerxes sends Esdras and afterwards Nehemiah to Jerusalem.

BEFORE I proceed in the history of the Persians and Greeks, I will relate, in few words, the several things which happened to God's people during the first twenty years of Artaxerxes's reign; this forming an essential part of the history of that prince.

A. M.

3537.

Ant. J. C.

467.

Esdr. c.

vii. &c.

In the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, Esdras obtained of the king and his seven counsellors an ample commission, empowering him to return to Jerusalem with all such Jews as would follow him thither, in order to settle the Jewish government and religion agreeably to their own laws. Esdras was descended from Saraias, who was high-priest of Jerusalem, at the time that it was destroyed by Nabuchodonosor, and was put to death by his command. Esdras was a very learned and pious man, and was chiefly distinguished from the rest of the Jews, by his great knowledge in the scriptures; it being said of him, *That he was very ready in the law of Moses that was given by the God of Israel.* He now set out from Babylon with the gifts and offerings which the king, his courtiers, and such Israelities as had staid in Babylon, had put into his hands for the service of the temple, and which he gave to the priests, immediately upon his arrival in Jerusalem. It appears by the commission which Artaxerxes gave him, that the prince had a high veneration for the God of Israel, since, in commanding his officers to furnish the Jews with all things necessary for their worship, he adds, *Let all things be performed after the law of God diligently, unto the most high God, that wrath come not upon the kingdom of the king and his son.* This commis-

Esdras I.
chap. viii.
ver. 3.Esdras I.
chap. viii.
ver. 21.

commission, as I observed, impowered him to settle the religion and government of the Jews, pursuant to the law of Moses; to appoint magistrates and judges to punish evil doers, not only by imprisoning their persons, and confiscating their possessions, but also by sending them into banishment, and even sentencing them to death, according to the crimes they should commit. Such was the power with which Esdras was invested, and which he exercised faithfully during thirteen years, till Nehemiah brought a new commission from the Persian court.

ARTAX.
LONQIM.

A. M.
3550.
Ant. J. C.

Nehemiah was also a Jew of distinguished merit and piety, and one of the cup-bearers to king Artaxerxes. This was a very considerable employment in the Persian court, because of the privilege annexed to it, *viz.* of being often near the king's person, and of being allowed to speak to him in the most auspicious moments. However, neither his exalted station, nor the settlement of his family in that land of captivity, could obliterate from his mind the country of his ancestors, nor their religion: neither his love for the one, nor his zeal for the other, were abated; and his heart was still in Zion. Some Jews who were come from Jerusalem, having informed him of the sad state of this city; that its walls lay in ruin; its gates were burnt down, and the inhabitants thereby exposed to the insults of their enemies, and made the scorn of all their neighbours: the affliction of his brethren, and the dangers with which they were menaced, made such an impression on his mind, as might naturally be expected from the pious Nehemiah. One day as he was waiting upon the king, the latter observing that an unusual air of melancholy was diffused over Nehemiah's countenance, asked him the cause of it; a proof that this monarch breathed a tenderness that is rarely found in kings, and which is nevertheless much more valuable than the

454.
Nehem.
chap. i. &
ii.

AREAX.
LONGIM.

most shining qualities. Nehemiah took this opportunity to acquaint him with the calamitous state of his country; owned that this was the subject of his grief; and humbly intreated that leave might be given him to go to Jerusalem, in order to repair the fortifications of it. The kings of Persia his predecessors had permitted the Jews to rebuild the temple, but not to raise the walls of Jerusalem. But Artaxerxes permitted this, and Nehemiah, as governour of Judea, was appointed to put this decree in execution. The king, to do him the greater honour, ordered a body of horse, commanded by a considerable officer, to escort him thither. He likewise writ to all the governours of the provinces on this side the Euphrates, to give him all the assistance possible in forwarding the work for which he was sent. This pious Jew executed every part of his commission with incredible zeal and activity.

Dan. c. ix. It is from this decree, enacted by Artaxerxes in
v. 24, 27. the twentieth year of his reign, for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, that we date the beginning of the seventy weeks mentioned in the famous prophecy of Daniel, after which the Messiah was to appear, and be put to death. I will here insert that whole prophecy, but without giving the explication of it, as it may be found in other writers, and bears no relation to this present history.

Dan. c. ix. “Thou art greatly beloved, therefore under-
ver. 23 to “stand the matter, and consider the vision.
27. inclu- “Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people,
five. “and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make
“reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision
“and prophesy, and to anoint the most holy.
“Know therefore and understand, THAT FROM
“THE GOING FORTH OF THE COMMAND-
MENT TO RESTORE AND TO BUILD JERUSALEM, unto the Messiah the prince, shall be
seven

“ seven weeks ; and threescore and two weeks the
 “ street shall be built again, and the wall, even ARTAX. LONGIM.
 “ in troublous times. And after threescore and
 “ two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not
 “ for himself : and the people of the prince that
 “ shall come, shall destroy the city, and the sanc-
 “ tuary, and the end thereof shall be with a
 “ flood ; and unto the end of the war desolations
 “ are determined. And he shall confirm the co-
 “ venant with many for one week ; and in the
 “ midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and
 “ the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading
 “ of abominations, he shall make it desolate, even
 “ until the consummation, and that determined
 “ shall be poured upon the desolate.”

When Esdras was in power, as his chief view Bishop of Meaux's universal history.
 was to restore religion to its antient purity, he
 ranged the books of scripture into their proper or-
 der, revised them all very carefully, and collected
 the incidents relating to the people of God in an-
 tient times ; in order to compose of them the two
 books of Chronicles, to which he added the his-
 tory of his own times, which was finished by Ne-
 hemiah. It is their books that end the long his-
 tory which Moses had begun, and which the
 writers who came after them continued in a direct
 series, till the repairing of Jerusalem. The rest
 of the sacred history is not written in that unin-
 terrupted order. Whilst Esdras and Nehemiah
 were compiling the latter part of that great work,
 Herodotus, whom profane authors call the fa-
 ther of history, began to write. Thus we find
 that the latest authors of the books of scripture,
 flourished about the same time with the first au-
 thors of the Grecian history ; and when it began,
 that of God's people, to compute only from A-
 braham, included already fifteen centuries. Hero-
 dotus made no mention of the Jews in his history ;
 for the Greeks desired to be informed of such na-
 tions

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

tions only, as were famous for their wars, their traffick, or their conspicuous figure; so as that Judea was then but just rising from its ruins, it did not then excite the attention of that people.

S E C T. VII.

Character of Pericles. The methods employed by him to gain the affection of the people.

I now return to Greece. Ever since the banishment of Themistocles, and the death of Aristides, (the exact time of which is not known) two citizens, Cimon and Pericles, shared the credit and authority over the people of Athens. Pericles was much younger than Cimon, and of a quite different character. As he will make a very considerable figure in the following history, it is of importance to the reader to know who he was; in what manner he had been educated, and his plans and method of government.

Plut. in
vit. Pericl.
p. 153—
156.

Pericles was descended, by the mother's as well as father's side, from the greatest and most illustrious families of Athens. His father Xanthippus, who defeated at Mycale the king of Persia's lieutenants, married Agarista, niece to Clysthenes, who drove out the Pisistratides or descendants of Pisistratus the tyrant, and established a popular government in Athens. Pericles had long prepared himself for the design he formed of engaging in state affairs.

He was brought up under the most learned men of his age, and particularly Anaxagoras of Clazomene, surnamed the *Intelligence*, from his being the first, as we are told, who ascribed humane events, as well as the formation and government of the universe, not to chance, as some philosophers, nor to a fatal necessity, but to a superior intelligence, who regulated and conducted the whole with wisdom.

om. This tenet or opinion was nevertheless be-^{ARTAX.}
 eved long before his time, but he perhaps set it in ^{LENOIX.}
 stronger light than any man before him, and
 ught it methodically and from principles. A-
 axagoras instructed his pupil perfectly in the part
 f philosophy that relates to nature, and which is
 erefore called * physicks. This study endued
 im with a strength and greatness of soul which
 ised him above a numberless multitude of popu-
 ar prejudices, and vain practices that were gene-
 ally observed in his time; and which, in affairs of
 overnment and military enterprizes, either dis-
 oncerted often the wisest and most necessary mea-
 ures, or defeated them by scrupulous delays, au-
 thorized and covered with the specious veil of re-
 gion. These were sometimes dreams or auguries,
 t other times dreadful phænomena as eclipses of
 he sun or moon, or else omens and presages; not
 o mention the wild chimeras of judiciary astrology.
 The knowledge of nature, free from the groveling
 nd weak superstitions to which ignorance gives
 irth, inspired him, says Plutarch, with a well-
 ounded piety towards the gods, joined to a
 trength of mind that was immoveable, and a calm
 ope of the blessings we may expect from them. Al-
 tho' he found infinite charms in this study, he yet
 did not devote himself to it as a philosopher, but as
 a politician; and he had so much power over him-
 self (a very difficult thing) as to prescribe limits
 to his pursuit of knowledge.

But the talent he cultivated with the greatest
 care, because he looked upon it as the most neces-
 sary instrument to that man who is desirous of
 conducting and governing the people, was elo-
 quence. And indeed, those who possessed this ta-

* The ancients, under this name, knowledge of spiritual things, as
 comprehended what we call physicks God and spirits; and that of bo-
 and metaphysicks; that is, the diet.

ARTAX.
LONGEM.

lent, in a free state like that of Athens, were sure of moulding the minds of the people into what shapes they pleased, of gaining the voices, of rising to posts and preferments, and ruling the minds of men with a despotic sway. He therefore made this his chief object, and the mark to which all his other acquirements, as well as the several sciences he had learnt from Anaxagoras * were directed; tinging, to borrow Plutarch's expression, the study of philosophy with that of rhetoric: the meaning of which is that Pericles, to embellish and adorn his expressions, heightened the strength and solidity of reasoning, with the colouring and graces of eloquence.

He had no cause to repent his having bestowed so much time in this study, he succeeding in it far beyond his hopes. † The poets, his contemporaries, used to say, that his eloquence was so powerful, that he lightened, thundred, and put all Greece in a ferment. ‖ He was master of those piercing and lively touches which strike the soul; and his speeches left always stings or sharp points, as it were, in the minds of his auditors. He had the art of uniting beauty to strength; and Cicero observes, that at the very time he combated, with the greatest resolution, the inclinations and desires of the Athenians; he had the art to make even severity itself, and the kind of moroseness with which he spoke against the flatterers of the people, popular. There was no resisting the solidity of his ar-

* Βασις τῆς φιλοσοφίας τῶν Περικλέωνος λόγων προσηγορίᾳ.

† Ab Aristophane poeta fulgurare, tonare, permiscere Græciam dictus est. *Cic. in Orat.* s. 29.

‖ Quid Periclès? De cujus dicendi copia sic accepimus, ut, cum contra voluntatem Atheniensium loqueretur pro salute pa-

triae, severius tamen ad ipsam, quod ille contra populares homines diceret, populare omnibus & jucundum videretur: cuius in labris veteres comici-leporem habitasse dixerunt: tantumque vim in eo fuisse, ut in eorum mentibus, qui audissent, quasi aculeos quosdam relinquere. *Cic. lib. 3. de Orat.* s. 138.

guments,

garments, or the sweetness of his words, whence it ^{ARTAX.} ^{LONGIM.} was said, that the goddess of persuasion, with all her attendant graces, resided on his lips. And indeed, as Thucydides *, his rival and adversary, * *Not the historian.* was one day asked, whether he or Pericles was the best wrestler : “ Whenever, says he, I have given “ him a fall, he affirms the contrary, in such strong “ and forcible terms, that he persuades all the “ spectators that I did not throw him, though “ they themselves saw him on the ground.” Nor was he less prudent and reserved, than strong and vehement in his speeches; and 'tis related, that he never spoke in public, till after he had besought the gods not to suffer any expression to drop from him, either incongruous to his subject, or offensive to the people. Whenever he went into the Assembly, before he came out of his house, he used to say to himself; *remember, Pericles, that thou art going to speak to men born in liberty; to Greeks, to Athenians.*

The uncommon endeavours which Pericles, according to historians, used, in order to improve his mind in knowledge, and to attain to a perfection in eloquence, is an excellent lesson to such persons as are one day designed to fill the weighty employments of state; and a just censure of † those, who, disregarding whatever is called study and learning, bring into those posts, (to which they ascend quite uninformed with knowledge or experience,) nothing but a ridiculous self-sufficiency, and a rash boldness in giving their decisions. Plutarch, P. 777. in a treatise where he shows, that 'tis to statesmen that a philosopher ought chiefly to attach himself, preferably to any other class of men; (because in instructing of these he, at the same time, teaches whole cities and republicks) verifies his assertion

† Nunc contra plerique ad res, nulla cognitione rerum honores adipiscendos, et ad remp. nulla scientia ornati Cic. lib. 3. gerendam, nudi veniunt & in- de Orat. n. 136.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

from the example of the greatest men both of Greece and Italy, who borrowed this aid from philosophy. Pericles, of whom we now write, was taught by Anaxagoras; Dionysius of Syracuse by Plato; many princes of Italy by Pythagoras; Cato, the famous censor, travelled to the place where Athenodorus lived, purposely to be taught by him; lastly, the famous Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, always kept Panetius the philosopher near his person.

One of the chief endeavours of Pericles also was, to study thoroughly the genius and disposition of the Athenians, that he might discover the secret springs which were to be employed in order to set them in motion; and the manner how he should conduct himself, to win their favour and esteem; * for it was in this circumstance chiefly, that the great men among the antients, used to make their skill and politicks consist. He found, by the reflections he had made on the several transactions of his time, that the predominant passions of this people were, a violent aversion to tyranny, and a strong love of liberty, which inspired them with sentiments of fear, jealousy and suspicion of all such citizens as were too conspicuous for their birth, their personal merit; their own credit and authority, or that of their friends. He not only was very like Pisistratus, with regard to the sweetness of his voice, and his fluency of expression, but he also resembled him very much in the features of his face, and his whole air and manner; and he observed, that the most antient Athenians who had seen the tyrant, were prodigiously struck at the resemblance. Besides, he was very wealthy; was descended from an illustrious family, and had

* Olim noscenda vulgi natura, & quibus modis temperanter haberetur; Senatusque & optimatum ingenia qui maxime per-

didicerant, callidi temporum & sapientes habebantur. *Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. cap. 33.*

castly powerful friends. To prevent therefore raising the suspicion and jealousy of the people it first shunned all affairs of government, we require a constant attendance in the city ; and solved only how he might best distinguish him in the most hazardous dangers, and in the field

Seeing Aristides dead, Themistocles drove from his country, and Cimon engaged almost continually in foreign wars, and absent from Greece began to appear in publick with greater confidence than before, and applied himself entirely to winning the affections of the people ; but this, out of inclination, for he was no ways of a popular turn of mind, but to remove all suspicions of aspiring to the tyranny ; and still more, to raise a strong bulwark against the credit and authority of Cimon, who had joined with the nobles.

At the same time, he quite changed his conduct and way of life ; and assumed, in all things, the character of a statesman, who is wholly busied with affairs of government, and entirely devoted to the service of his country. He was never seen in the streets except when he was going either to the assembly of the people, or to the council. He mediarely left off going to banquets, assemblies and other diversions of that kind which he had formerly frequented ; and during the many years that he presided in the administration, he was never seen to go and sup with his friends, except once at the nuptials of a near relation.

He * knew that the people, who are naturally fickle and inconstant, commonly increase their regard for those who are ever in their sight ; that too strong a desire to please them, grows at last tiresome and importunate ; and it was obse

* *Ista nostra assiduitas, Servi, nescis quantum interdum afferat hominibus fastidii, quantum fletitatis — Utrique nostrum fiderium nihil obtinisset. C. Myr. s. 21,*

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

that such a behaviour did great prejudice to Themistocles. To avoid this error, he used to go very rarely to the assemblies; and never appeared before the people but at intervals, in order to make himself be wished for; and to preserve such an ascendant over their minds as might be always new, and not worn or faded by an over great assiduity; wisely reserving himself for great and important affairs. Hence it was said that he imitated Jupiter, who, in the government of the world, according to some philosophers, busied himself in great events only; and left the direction of those of less importance to subaltern deities. And indeed, Pericles used to transact all petty affairs, by his friends, and by certain orators that were entirely devoted to him, among whom was Ephialtes.

Plut. de
ger. rep.
p. 811.

Plut. in
Pericl.
p. 156.

Pericles employed his whole industry and application to win the favour and esteem of the people, in order to counter-balance the fame and credit of Cimon. However, he could not equal the magnificence and liberality of his rival, whose immense riches gave him an opportunity of bestowing such largesses as appear to us almost incredible, so much they differ from our customs. Finding it impossible for him to rival Cimon in this particular, he had recourse to another expedient (in order to gain the love of the populace) which, if not less efficacious, was certainly not so lawful and honourable. He was the first man who divided the conquered lands among the citizens; who distributed among them, for the exhibiting of their games and shows, the publick moneys, and annexed pensions to all publick employments; so that certain sums were bestowed on them regularly, to purchase seats at the games, in the courts of justice, and the debates on publick affairs. It is impossible to say, how fatal these unhappy politicks were to the republick, and the many evils they drew after them. For these new regulations, besides their
draining

draining the publick treasury, gave the people a ^{ARTAX.} ^{LONGIM.} luxurious and dissolute turn of mind; whereas they before were sober and modest, and were contented to gain a livelihood by their sweat and labour.

By * such arts as these Pericles had gained so great an ascendant over the minds of the people, that it may be affirmed he had raised himself to a monarchical power, under a republican form of government; moulding the citizens into what shape he pleased, and presiding, with despotick sway, in all their assemblies. And indeed, Valerius Maximus makes scarce any other difference between Pisistratus and Pericles, except that the one exercised a tyrannical power by force of arms, and the other by the strength of his eloquence, in which he had made a very great progress under Anaxagoras.

This credit and authority, though carried to so enormous a height, could not yet restrain the comic writers from lashing him very severely in the theatres; and it does not appear that any of the poets who censured Pericles so very boldly, were ever punished, or even called to account for it by the people. Perhaps it was prudent and political in that Grecian, to not attempt to curb this licentiousness of the stage; nor to silence the poets, in order that he might amuse and content the people by this vain shadow of liberty, and prevent their discovering, that they really were enslaved.

But Pericles did not stop here. He boldly resolved, ^{Plut. in} if possible, to weaken the authority of the tribunal of Peric. the Areopagus, of which he was not a member, be- ^{p. 157.} ^{In Cim.} cause he had never been elected either † Archon, ^{p. 488.} Thesmotheta,

* Pericles felicissimis naturæ incrementis, sub Anaxagora præceptore summo studio perpolitus et instructus, liberis Athenarum cervicibus jugum servitutis imposuit: egit enim ille urbem et versavit arbitrio suo———Quid

inter Pisistratum et Periclem interfuit, nisi quod ille armatus, hic sine armis, tyrannidem exercuit. *Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 9.*

† After some changes had been made in the form of the Athenian government, the supreme authority

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

Thesmotheta, king of the sacrifices, nor Polemarchus. These were different employments in the republick, which from time immemorial, had been given by lot; and none but those who had behaved uprightly in them, were allowed a seat in the Areopagus. Pericles, taking advantage of Cimon's absence, set Ephialtes, who was his creature, at work clandestinely; and at last lessened the power of that illustrious body, in which the chief strength of the nobles consisted. The people, emboldned and supported by so powerful a faction, overturned all the fundamental laws and antient usages; took from the senate of the Areopagus the cognizance of most causes that used to be brought before it; leaving it very few, and such only as were of little consequence, and made themselves absolute masters of all the tribunals.

Cimon being returned to Athens, was grieved to see the dignity of the senate trampled under foot, and therefore set every engine at work to restore it to its pristine authority, and to revive the Aristocracy, in the same form as it had been established under Clisthenes. But now his enemies began to exclaim and excite the people against him; reproaching him, among many other particulars, for his strong attachment to the Lacedæmonians. Cimon had himself given some room for this reproach, by his not paying regard enough to the jealous temper of the Athenians: For, in speaking to them, he would for ever extol Lacedæmonia; and whenever he censured their conduct on any occasion, he used always to cry, *The Spartans do not act in that manner.* Such expressions as these drew upon him the envy and hatred of his fellow-citi-

rity was at last invested in nine magistrates, called Archontes, and lasted but one year. One was called Rex, another Polymarchus; a third Archon, and this magistrate was properly at the head of the rest, and gave his name to the year; and six Thesmothetae, who presided immediately over the laws and decrees.

zens; but an event, in which he nevertheless had ^{ARTAX.}
no share, made him the object of their utmost de- ^{LONGIM.}
testation.

S E C T. VIII

*An earthquake in Sparta. Insurrection of the Ilotes.
Seeds of division arise between the Athenians and
Spartans. Cimon is sent into banishment.*

IN the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus, A. M. there happened the most dreadful earthquake in ^{3534.} Sparta that had ever been known. In several pla- ^{Ant. J. C.}ces the country was entirely swallowed up; the ^{470.} Taygete and other mountains were shaken to their ^{Plut. in Cim.} foundations; many of their summits being torn a- ^{p. 488,} way, came tumbling down; and the whole city ^{489.} was overturned, five houses excepted, which were left standing amidst the dreadful ruins. To heighten the calamity, the Ilotes, who were slaves to the Lacedæmonians, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity to recover their liberty; flew up and down every part of the city, to murder all those who had escaped the earthquake: But finding them under arms, and drawn up in battle array, by the prudent foresight of Archidamus, who had assembled them round him, they retired into the neighbouring cities, and began that very day to carry on an open war; they concluding an Alliance with several of the neighbouring nations, and finding they were strengthened by the Messenians, who at that time were engaged in war against the Spartans.

The Lacedæmonians being in this extremity, sent to Athens to implore succours; but this was opposed by Ephialtes, who declared that it would be no way adviseable to assist them, nor to rebuild a city that was the rival of Athens, which, he said, ought on the contrary, to be buried in its ruins;

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he insisting strenuously, that the pride of Sparta must be humbled. But Cimon being struck with horror at these politicks, did not hesitate a moment to prefer the welfare of the Lacedæmonians to the aggrandizing of his country; and declaring in the strongest terms, that it would not be prudent in any manner *to leave Greece in a tottering condition, nor Athens without a counterpoise*, he won over the people to his opinion, and accordingly a succour was voted. Sparta and Athens might indeed be considered as the two columns on which Greece stood; so that if one of them was to fall, the other must necessarily totter. It is likewise certain, that the Athenians, elated with their grandeur, were become so proud and enterprizing, that they wanted a curb; and none could be better for that purpose than Sparta, as this state was alone capable of being a counterpoise to the head-strong disposition of the Athenians. Cimon therefore marched to the succour of the Lacedæmonians with four thousand men.

We have here an example of the prodigious influence which a man of fine talents and abilities has in a state or commonwealth, when, to a great fund of merit, he adds a well-established fame with regard to his probity, his disinterestedness and his country's love. Cimon, with very little difficulty, prevails so far as to inspire the Athenians with noble and magnanimous sentiments, which, in outward appearance, interfered with their interest; and this in spite of the suggestions of a secret jealousy, which is always strongly felt on these occasions. By the ascendant and authority which his virtue gives him, he raises them above the groveling and unjust (the too common) political views, that prompt a people to consider the calamities of their neighbour as an advantage, which the interest of their own country permits, and even enjoins them to make use of. The counsels of Cimon were perfectly

fectly wise and equitable ; but it is surprizing, how ARTAX.
 he could prevail so far as make a whole people LONGIM.
 approve them, since this is all that could be ex-
 pected from an assembly of wise senators.

Some time after, the Lacedæmonians again im- Plut. in
 plored the aid of the Athenians against the Messe- Cim.
 nians and Ilotes, who had seized upon Ithome. But Thucyd.
 these forces being arrived under the command of l. 1. p. 67.
 Cimon, the Spartans began to dread their intre- 68.
 pidity, their power and great fame ; so that they
 sent them back in the most insolent manner, as
 guilty of harbouring ill designs, and of intending
 to turn their arms against them.

The Athenians being returned, and fired with an-
 ger and resentment, they declared themselves, from
 that very day, enemies to all who should favour
 the Lacedæmonian interest ; for which reason they
 banished Cimon by the Ostracism, the very first
 opportunity that presented itself for that purpose.
 This is the first time that the misunderstanding be-
 tween these two nations, which afterwards was in-
 flamed by mutual discontent, displayed itself in so
 strong a manner. It was nevertheless suppressed,
 for some years, by truces and other treaties,
 which prevented its blazing ; but it at last burst
 out in the most violent manner, by the war of
 Peloponnesus.

Those who had shut themselves up in Ithome,
 after making a ten year's defence in it, surrendered
 at last to the Lacedæmonians, who gave them their
 lives, upon condition that they should never re-
 turn to Peloponnesus. The Athenians, to exas-
 perate the Lacedæmonians, received them with
 their wives and children, and settled them in Nau-
 pactus, of which they had just before possessed
 themselves. The inhabitants of Megara broke off Thucyd
 at the same time from the Spartans, and joyned l. 1. p. 69,
 with the Athenians. In this manner several leagues 71.
 were concluded on both sides, and many battles Diod. l. 11.
 were p. 59-60

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LONGIM.

A. M.
3548.
Ant. J. C.
450.

Plut. in
Cim.
P. 489.

were fought, the most famous of which was that of Tanagra in Bœotia, which Diodorus equals to those of Marathon and Plataeæ, and in which Myronides the Athenian general, defeated the Spartans, who were come to succour the Thebans.

It is on this occasion that Cimon, thinking himself dispensed from his proscription, returned with his soldiers to his tribe to serve his country; and to fight in concert with his countrymen against the Lacedæmonians: but his enemies procured an order to be sent him to retire. However, before he went away, he exhorted his companions, who were no less suspected than himself of favouring the Lacedæmonians, to exert themselves to the utmost, and fight with the greatest courage, in order to prove their innocence; and, if possible, to blot from the minds of the citizens, a suspicion so injurious to them all. Accordingly these brave soldiers, who were an hundred in number, fired by these words, desired to have Cimon's suit of armour; when they placed it in the center of their little battalion, in order to have him present as it were and before their eyes. They then fought with so much valour and fury, that all suffered themselves to be cut to pieces rather than yield; to the great regret of the Athenians, who now deeply repented their having accused them so unjustly.

I omit several incidents that are of little importance.

S E C T. IX.

Cimon is recalled. He prevails so far as to have a peace concluded between the two cities. He gains several victories, which reduce Artaxerxes to the necessity of concluding a treaty highly honourable to the Greeks. Cimon's death.

THE Athenians, finding the great want they were in of Cimon's aid, recalled him from his banishment, in which he had spent five years. P. 490. It was Pericles himself, who proposed and drew up the decree of it; so far, says Plutarch, the feuds and animosities were quieted at that time, and upon the point of ceasing entirely, when the welfare of their country required it; and so happily did ambition, which is one of the strongest and most lively passions, yield to the necessity of the times, and submit in all those things which might contribute to the publick welfare.

The instant Cimon was returned, he stifled the sparks of war which were going to break out among the Greeks; reconciled the two cities, and prevailed with them to conclude a truce for five years. And to prevent the Athenians, who were elated with the many victories they had gained, from having an opportunity, or harbouring a design, to attack their neighbours and allies; he thought it adviseable to lead them, at a great distance from home, against the common enemy; thus endeavouring, in an honourable way, to train up the citizens to war, and enrich them at the same time. Accordingly he put to sea a fleet of two hundred sail. He sent sixty of these into Egypt, to succour Amyrtea; and himself sailed with the rest to fight the inhabitants of the island of Cyprus. Artabazus was at that time in those seas with a fleet of three hundred sail; and Me-

V O L. III. T gabyfus,

ARTAX.
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gabyfus, the other general of Artaxerxes, with an army of three hundred thousand men, on the coast of Cilicia. As soon as the Squadron which Cimon sent into Egypt had joined his fleet, he sailed and attacked Artabazus, and took an hundred of his ships. He sunk many of them, and gave chase to the rest, as far as the coasts of Phœnicia. But as if this victory had been only a prelude to a second, he made a descent on Cilicia in his return; attacked Megabyfus, defeated him, and cut to pieces a numberless multitude of his troops. He afterwards returned to Cyprus with this double triumph, and laid siege to Citium, a strong city of very great importance. His design, after he had reduced that island, was to sail for Egypt, and again embroil the affairs of the Barbarians; for he had very extensive views, and meditated no less a prospect than that of the entire subversion of the mighty empire of Persia. The rumours which prevailed, that Themistocles was to command the army, added fresh fire to his courage; and being almost sure of success, he panted to oppose his courage and abilities to those of that general. But we have already heard that Themistocles laid violent hands on himself about this time.

Diod.

P. 74, 75.

Artaxerxes, tired with a war in which he had sustained such great losses, resolved, with the advice of his council, to put an end to it. Accordingly, he sent orders to his generals to conclude a peace with the Athenians, upon the most advantageous conditions possible. Megabyfus and Artabazus sent Ambassadors to Athens to propose an accommodation. Plenipotentiaries were then chosen on each side, and Callias was at the head of those of Athens. Here follow the conditions of the treaty. 1. That all the Grecian cities of Asia should have the liberty to chuse their own laws, and the government under which they might be

be desirous of living. 2. That no Persian man of war should be allowed to enter these seas, between the Cyanean to the Chelidonian islands, that is, from Pontus Euxinus to the coasts of Pamphylia. 3. That no Persian general should lead any troops within three days march of those seas. 4. That the Athenians should not invade any part of the dominions of the king of Persia. These articles being ratified by both parties, peace was proclaimed.

Thus ended this war, which, from the burning of Sardes by the Athenians, had lasted fifty one years compleat, and in which a numberless multitude of Persians as well as Greeks had lost their lives.

Whilst this treaty was negotiating, Cimon died, either of sickness, or of a wound he had received at the siege of Citium: When he was near his end, he commanded his officers to sail the fleet with all imaginable expedition to Athens, and to conceal his death with the utmost care. Accordingly this was executed with so much secrecy, that neither the enemy nor the allies once suspected it; and they returned safe to Athens, still under the conduct and auspices of Cimon, though he had been dead above thirty days:

Cimon was universally regretted *, which is no wonder, since he was possessed of all those qualities that dignify the soul; he being a tender son, a faithful friend; zealous for the welfare of his country, a great politician, an accomplished general; modest when raised to the highest employments and most shining honours; liberal and beneficent almost to profusion; plain, and abhorrent of ostentation of every kind, even in the midst of

* Sic se gerendo, minimè est cura, & mors acerba. *Cornel. Nep. in Cim. cap. 4.*

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riches and abundance ; in fine, a lover of such citizens as were in unhappy circumstances, who always shared his estate with him, so far was he from despising them because they were poor. We don't find by history, that he was interred with pomp, or that any statues or monuments were erected to his memory : but the greatest honour that could be paid him, was the sighs and tears of the people ; * these were permanent and lasting statues, as it were, which are not obnoxious to the inclemencies of weather, or the injuries of time, and endear the memory of the good and virtuous to the remotest ages. For the most splendid mausoleums, works of brass and marble that are raised in honour of wicked great men, are despised by posterity, as sepulchres which inclose nothing but putrefaction.

X

What followed proved more strongly the loss which Greece had sustained by his death ; for Cimon was the last of all the Grecian generals who achieved any considerable conquest over the Barbarians. Excited by the orators, who gained the strongest ascendant over the minds of the people, and sowed the seeds of division in their public assemblies, they turned their animosity one against another ; and at last rose to an open war, the fatal consequences of which no one endeavoured to prevent ; a circumstance that was of great advantage to the king of Persia, and the utmost prejudice to the affairs of Greece.

* Hæ pulcherrimæ effigies & odium vertit, pro sepulchris permanfuræ. Nam, quæ saxo struntur, si judicium posterorum in 38.

S E C T. X.

Thucydides is opposed to Pericles. The envy raised against the latter. He clears himself, and prevails to have Thucydides banished.

THE nobles of Athens seeing Pericles raised Plut. in to the highest degree of power, and far above Peric. p. all the rest of the citizens, resolved to oppose 158-161. a man, who, in some measure, might make head against him, and prevent his great authority from rising to monarchy. Accordingly they opposed (to Pericles,) Thucydides, Cimon's brother-in-law, a man who had displayed his wisdom on numberless occasions. He indeed did not possess the military talents in so eminent a degree as Pericles; but then he had as great an influence over the people; he shaping their minds, and directing their assemblies as he pleased: and as he never stirred out of the city, but combated and opposed perpetually Pericles in all his designs, he soon restored things to an equilibrium. On the other side, Pericles was now solicitous of pleasing the people on all occasions, and he indulged them greater liberties than ever; and therefore he now entertained them as often as possible with shows, festivals, games, and other diversions.

He found means to maintain, during eight months in the year, a great number of poor citizens, by putting them on board a fleet, consisting of threescore ships, which he fitted out every year; and thereby he did his country an important service, by training up a great number of sailors for its defence. He also planted several colonies in Chersonnesus, in Naxos, in Andros, and among the Bisaltæ in Thrace. There was a very noble one in Italy, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak, and which built Thurium. Pericles had

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different views in the settling of these colonies, over and above the particular design he might entertain, of winning the affections of the people by that means. His chief motives were, to clear the city of a great number of idle persons who were ever ready to disturb the government; to relieve the wants of the lowest class of people, who before were unable to subsist themselves; in fine, to awe the allies, by settling true Athenians among them as so many garrisons, which might prevent their engaging in any measures contrary to the interest of that people. The Romans made a happy use of this example; and it may be affirmed, that this wise political maxim served most effectually to secure the tranquillity of the state.

But the circumstance which did Pericles the greatest honour in the minds of the people, was his adorning the city with magnificent edifices and other works, which raised the admiration and astonishment of all such foreigners as beheld them, and gave them a mighty idea of the power of the Athenians. It is surprizing that, in so short a space, so many works, of architecture, sculpture, engraving and painting should be performed; and at the same time be carried to the highest perfection: For it is generally found, that edifices raised in haste, boast neither a solid and durable grace, nor the regularity required in works of an exquisitely-beautiful kind. Commonly, nothing but length of time, joined to the most assiduous labour, can give them such a strength as may preserve, and make them triumph over ages; and this raises our wonder still more of the works done by Pericles, in their being raised in so short a space of time, and their lasting so many centuries. For each of those works, the very instant it was finished, glowed with a beauty that had an antique cast; and at this time, *i. e.* above five hundred years after, says Plutarch, they boast a certain juvenile

venile freshness, as though they were but just come out of the artist's hand; so happily do they preserve the graces and charms of novelty, which will not suffer time to tarnish their lustre; as though an ever-blooming spirit, and a soul exempt from the attacks of age, were diffused over every part of those works.

But that circumstance which excited the admiration of the whole world, raised the jealousy of the people against Pericles. His enemies were for ever crying aloud in the assemblies, that it was dishonourable to the Athenians, to appropriate to themselves the specie of all Greece, which he had sent for from Delos, where it had been deposited; that the allies must necessarily consider such an attempt as a manifest tyranny, when they found that the sums which had been extorted from them, upon pretence of their being employed in the war, were laid out by the Athenians in gilding and embellishing their city, in the making magnificent statues, and raising temples that cost millions. They did not amplify on these occasions; for only the temple of Minerva, called the Parthenone, had cost three millions of Livres.

Pericles, on the contrary, remonstrated to the Athenians, that they were not obliged to give the allies an account of the monies they had received from them; that it was enough they defended them from, and repulsed the Barbarians, at the time that the allies furnished neither soldiers, horses, nor ships; and that they were quit for some sums of money, which, the instant they are paid in, are no longer the property of the donors, but of those who received them; provided they perform the conditions agreed upon, and in consideration of which they were received. He added, that as the Athenians were stored sufficiently with all things necessary for war, it was fit they should employ the rest of their riches in edifices and other

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works, which, when finished, would give immortal glory to their city; and, the whole time they were carrying on, diffused a plenty of all things, and gave bread to a numberless multitude of citizens: That they themselves had all kinds of materials, as timber, stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress wood; and all sorts of artificers capable of working them, as carpenters, masons, smiths, stone-cutters, dyers, goldsmiths; artificers who work in ebony, painters, embroiderers and turners; men fit to conduct their naval affairs, as merchants, sailors and experienced pilots; others to perform the land-carriage, as cartwrights, wagoners, carters, rope-makers, paviors, &c. That it would be of advantage to the government to employ these different artificers and others, which, as so many separate bodies, formed, when united, a kind of peaceable and domestick army, whose different functions and employments were of emolument to persons of both sexes and of all ages: Lastly, that whilst men who were vigorous enough, and of an age fit to bear arms, whether soldiers or sailors, and those who were in the different garrisons, were supported with the publick monies; it was but just, that the rest of the people who lived in the city should also be maintained in their way; and that as all were members of the same republick, they all should reap the same advantages, by doing it services, which, though of a different kind, did yet all contribute to its security or ornament.

One day, as the debates were growing warm, Pericles offered to defray the expence of all these things, provided it should be declared in the publick inscriptions, that he only had been at the charge of them. At these words the people, either admiring his magnanimity, or fired with emulation, and determined not to let him ravish this glory from them, cried with one voice, that he might

might take out of the publick treasury all the sums necessary for his purpose. ARTAX.
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Phidias the celebrated sculptor presided over all these works, as director-general. It was he who particularly cast the gold * and ivory statue representing Pallas, which was so highly valued, antiently, by all the judges. There arose an incredible ardor and emulation among the several artificers, who all mutually strove to excel one another, and immortalize their names by master-pieces of art.

The odeum, or musick-theatre, the inside of which was filled with a great number of seats and columns, and whose upper-part grew narrower, and terminated in a point, was built, as history informs us, after the model of king Xerxes's tent, according to the direction of Pericles. It was at that time he proposed with great warmth, a decree, by which it was ordained, that musical games should be celebrated on the festival called Panathenæa; and having been chosen the judge and distributor of the prizes, he appointed the manner in which musicians should play on the flute and the lyre, as well as sing. From that time, the musical games were always exhibited in this theatre.

I have already taken notice, that the more the beauty and splendor of these works were admired, the stronger envy and greater clamour was raised against Pericles. The orators who were in the opposite faction, were eternally exclaiming against him, and tearing his character to pieces; accusing him of squandering the publick monies, and laying out very unseasonably the revenues of the state in edifices, whose magnificence was of no use. At last, the rupture between him and Thucydides rose to such a height, that one or other of them must

* Non Minervæ Athenis hæc & auro constat. Plin. l. 36. fæste amplitudine utemur, cum c. 5. This statue was twenty-six ea sit cubitorum xxvi. Eboræ cubits in height.

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necessarily be banished by the ostracism. He got the better of Thucydides; prevailed to have him banished; crushed by that means the faction which opposed him, and obtained a despotick authority over the city and government of Athens. He now disposed at pleasure of the publick monies, the forces and ships. The islands and sea were subject to him; and he reigned singly and alone in that wide domain, which extended, not only over the Greeks, but the Barbarians also, and which was cemented and strengthened by the obedience and fidelity of the conquered nations, by the friendship of kings, and the treaties concluded with various princes.

Historians expatiate greatly on the magnificent edifices and other works with which Pericles adorned Athens, and I have related faithfully the testimony they give on this occasion; but I cannot say, whether the complaints and murmurs raised against him, were very ill grounded. And indeed, was it just in him to expend in superfluous buildings, and vain decorations, the immense * sums designed to carry on the war; and would it not have been better to have eased the allies of part of the contributions, which, in Pericles's administration, were raised to a third part more than before? According to Cicero, such edifices and other works only, are truly worthy our admiration, as are of use to the publick, as aquæducts, city-walls, citadels, arsenals, sea-ports; and to these we must add, the work made by Pericles, to join Athens to the port of Piræus. But Cicero observes at the same time, that Pericles was blamed for squandering away the publick treasure, merely to embellish the city with superfluous ornaments. Plato, who formed a judgment of things, not from their outward splendor, but from truth, observes (after his master Socrates) that Pericles, with all his grand edifices and other works, had not improved the mind

* They are mounted to upwards of ten millions French money.
Lib. 2.
Offic.
n. 60.

In Gorg.
p. 515.
In Alcib.
1. p. 119.

of one of the citizens in virtue, but rather corrupted the purity and simplicity of their antient manners. ARTAX.
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S E C T. XI.

Pericles changes his conduct towards the people. His prodigious authority. His disinterestedness.

WHEN Pericles saw himself thus invested with the whole authority, he began to change his behaviour. He now was not so mild and gentle as before, nor did he submit or abandon himself any longer to the whims and caprice of the people, as to so many winds; but drawing in, says Plutarch, the reins of this, too loose, popular government, in the same manner as we screw up the strings of an instrument when too slack; he changed it into an aristocracy, or rather a kind of monarchy, but at the same time was for ever studious of the publick welfare. Making virtue therefore his constant aim, and becoming irreproachable in all things, he gained so mighty an ascendant over the minds of the people, that he turned and directed them at pleasure. Now, by his bare counsel, and by persuasive methods, he would win them over gently to his will, and gain their assent spontaneously; at other times, when he found them obstinate, he would drag them forward, and against their will, to those things which were for their good; imitating on this occasion a skilful physician, who, in a tedious and stubborn disease, knows which seasons are proper for him to indulge his patient in innocent medicaments that are pleasing; in order after to administer those of a strong and violent nature, which at the same time that they torture him, are alone capable of restoring him to health.

And

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And indeed, it is manifest that the utmost skill and abilities were required, to manage and govern a populace who were elated by their power, and borne away by caprice ; and, on this occasion Pericles succeeded wonderfully. He used to employ, according to the different situation of things, sometimes hope, and at other times fear, as a double rudder, either to check the wild transports and starts of the people, or to raise them when dejected and desponding. By this conduct he showed that eloquence, as Plato observes, is only the art of directing the minds of people at will ; and that the chief excellency of this art consists, in moving, seasonably, the various passions, whether gentle or violent ; which being to the soul what strings are to a musical instrument, need only, in order to produce their effect, but be touched by an ingenious and skilful hand.

It must nevertheless be confessed, that the circumstance which gave Pericles this great authority, was, not only the force of his eloquence ; but, as Thucydides observes, the fame of his life, and his great probity.

Plut. in
præc. de
rep. ger.
p. 812.

Plutarch points out in Pericles, one quality which is very essential to statesmen ; a quality, well adapted to win the esteem and confidence of the publick, and which supposes a great superiority of mind ; and that is, for a man to be fully persuaded that he wants the counsels of others, and is not able to manage and direct, singly, all things : to associate with himself persons of merit in his toils, to employ each of these according to his talents ; and to leave to them the management of lesser things, which only consume time, and deprive him of the liberty of thinking, so necessary for the conducting of important affairs. Such a conduct, says Plutarch, is productive of two felicities. First, it extinguishes or at least deadens the fire of envy and jealousy, by dividing, in some measure,

measure, a power, which is grating and offensive ARTAX. LONGIM. to us when we see it united in one single person, as though the merit of all other men centred in him. Secondly, it advances and facilitates the execution of affairs, and secures more strongly their success. Plutarch, the better to explain his thought, employs a very natural and beautiful comparison. The hand, says he, which, for its being divided into five fingers, so far from being weaker, is the stronger, the more active, and better adapted to motion on that very account. It is the same of a statesman, who has the skill to divide his cares and functions in a proper manner, and who, by that means makes his authority more active, more extensive and decisive: whereas, the indiscreet fire of a narrow-minded man, who takes umbrage at, and will grasp all things, serves to no other purpose but to set his weakness and incapacity in a more glaring light, and to disconcert his affairs. But Pericles, says Plutarch, did not act in this manner. Like to a skilful pilot, who, though he stand almost motionless himself, he yet puts every thing in motion, and will sometimes seat subaltern officers at the helm; so Pericles was the soul of the government; and, seeming to be altogether unactive, he yet moved and governed all things; making use of the eloquence of one man, the credit and interest of another, the prudence of a third, the bravery and courage of a fourth, and so on.

To what has been here related, we may add another quality which is no less rare and valuable, v. t. PericL p. 161, 162. I mean, a noble and disinterested soul. Pericles had so great a disinclination to the receiving of gifts; he had so utter a contempt for riches, and was so far above all venal desires, that although he had raised Athens to the richest and most flourishing state; though his power had surpassed that of many tyrants and kings; though he had long dis-

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posed in an absolute manner of the treasures of Greece, he yet did not add a single drachma to the estate he had inherited from his father. This was the source, the true cause of the supreme authority which Pericles obtained in the republic; the just and worthy fruit of his integrity and perfect disinterestedness.

It was not only for a few swiftly-fleeting moments, nor during the first starts of a rising favour, whose grace and beauty are generally short-lived, that he preserved this authority. He maintained it forty years, in spite of the opposition of Cimon, of Tolmides, of Thucydides, and many others, who had all declared against him; and of these forty years he spent fifteen without a rival, from the time of Thucydides's banishment, and conducted all affairs with despotick sway. Nevertheless, in the midst of this supreme power, which he had rendered perpetual and boundless in his own person, his soul was ever superiour to the charms and allurements of wealth, though he had always improved his estate to the utmost of his power. For Pericles did not act like those noblemen, who, notwithstanding their immense revenues, either through negligence or want of œconomy, or their ridiculously-lavish expences, are always poor in the midst of their riches; unable and unwilling to do the least service to their virtuous friends, or their faithful and zealous domesticks; and at last die in every one's debt, whence their name and memory are had in the utmost detestation by their unfortunate creditors. I shall not expatiate on another extreme, to which this negligence and want of œconomy generally lead, I mean rapine, a love of gifts, and exactions; for here, as well as in the management of the publick monies, the maxim of Tacitus takes place * viz. that when a man has squandered away

* Si ambitione ærarium ex- dum erit. *Tacit Annal.* l. 2.
hausserimus, per scelera supplen- c. 38.

his estate, he then makes it his whole study to re-
 pair the loss of it by all sorts of methods, not ex-
 cepting the most criminal. ARTAX.
LONGIM.

Pericles knew much better the use which a statesman ought to make of riches. He was sensible that he ought to expend them in the service of the publick, such as, the procuring of able men to assist him in the administration; the relieving good officers, who too frequently are in unhappy circumstances; the rewarding and encouraging merit of what kind soever, and a thousand such things; to which doubtless, either on account of the exquisite joy they give, or the solid glory that results from them, no one will be so thoughtless as to compare the expence which is lavished away in entertainments, in equipages, or in gaming. In this view Pericles husbanded his estate with the utmost œconomy; having himself taught one of his old servants to manage his domestick concerns; and he always had the account brought him, at stated times, of all things that had been received as well as expended; confining himself and his family to a decent subsistence, (whence he banished severely all superfluities of a vain and ostentatious kind,) proportionable to his estate and condition. This way of life, indeed, did no way please his children when they were come to years of maturity, and much less his wife. These thought that Pericles did not allow a competency sufficient for persons of their rank; and murmured at that low and sordid œconomy, as they called it, which left behind it no traces of the plenty which generally reigns in those palaces where riches and authority are united. However, Pericles had little regard to these complaints, and directed his views to things of much greater importance.

I believe it will not be improper to apply on this occasion, a very just remark of Plutarch, borrowed from his parallel of Aristides and Cato.

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After saying, that political virtue, or the art of governing cities and kingdoms, is the greatest and most perfect that man can acquire, he adds, that economy is not one of the most inconsiderable branches of this virtue. And indeed, as riches are one of those mediums which may most contribute to the security or ruin of a state; the art that teaches to dispose of, and make a good use of them, and which is called *economical*, is certainly a branch of the art of politicks; and not one of the most inconsiderable branches of it, since great wisdom is required, in order to the observing a just medium on these occasions, and to the banishing poverty and too great opulence from a country. It is this art, which avoiding industriously all trifling and needless expences, prevents a magistrate from being forced to overburthen a people with taxes; and keeps always in reserve, in the publick coffers, monies sufficient for supporting a war that may break out, or for providing against any unforeseen accident. Now what is said of a kingdom or of a city, may be applied to particular persons. For a city, which is composed of an assemblage of houses, and which forms a whole of several parts united; is either powerful or weak when taken together, in proportion as all the members of which it consists, are strong, or feeble. Pericles certainly acquitted himself well with regard to that part of this science which relates to the government of a family: but I cannot say, if the same may be said, of his administration of the publick monies.

S E C T. XII.

Jealousy and contests arise between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. A treaty of peace is concluded for thirty years.

SUCH was the conduct of Pericles with respect to his domestick concerns : and he was no less famous for his administration of publick affairs. The Lacedæmonians beginning to grow jealous of the prosperity of the Athenians, and to take umbrage at it ; Pericles, to inflame the courage of the citizens, and enlarge their greatness of soul, published a decree, importing, that orders should be sent to all the Greeks, which part soever of Europe or Asia they might inhabit, and to all the cities great or small, to send immediately their deputies or representatives to Athens, to examine and debate on ways and means to rebuild the temples that had been burnt by the Barbarians ; to perform the sacrifices, which they had engaged themselves to offer up, for the preservation and safety of Greece, when war was carrying on against them : as also, to consider on, the expedients that might be employed, to establish such an order and discipline in their navy, that all ships might sail in safety, and the Greeks live in peace with one another.

Accordingly there were chosen for this embassy twenty persons, each of whom was upwards of fifty years old. Five of these were sent to the Ionians and Dores of Asia, and the inhabitants of the islands as far as Lesbos and Rhodes ; five to the countries of the Hellespont and Thrace, as far as Byzantium. Five were ordered to go to Bœotia, to Phocis, and Peloponnesus ; and to go from thence, by the country of the Locri, to the upper continent, and to go over it as far as Acarnania

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LONGIM.

and Ambracia. The last five were ordered to cross Eubœa, and to go to the people of mount Cœta, and those of the gulph of Malea, and to the inhabitants of Phthiotis, of Achaia, and of Thesfaly; to exhort the several nations to come to the assembly convened in Athens, and to assist at the debates which should be there carried on concerning peace, and the general affairs of Greece. I judged it necessary to enter into this detail, as it shows how far the power of the Greeks extended, and the authority which the Athenians enjoyed among them.

But all these solicitations were in vain; the cities not sending their deputies, which, according to historians, was owing to the opposition made by the Lacedæmonians, a circumstance we are not to wonder at. They were sensible, that Pericles's design was, to make Athens be recognized as mistress and sovereign of all the other Grecian cities; and Lacedæmonia was far from allowing it that honour. A secret leaven of discord had, for some years, began to disturb the tranquility of Greece; and we shall find by the sequel, that the minds of men grew more and more exasperated.

Pericles had acquired great fame for the wisdom with which he formed and conducted his enterprises. The troops reposed the highest confidence in him, and whenever they followed him, they were flushed with hopes of certain success. His chief maxim of war was, never to venture a battle unless he were almost sure of victory; and not be lavish of the blood of the citizens. He used to say frequently, that were it in his power they should be immortal; that when trees were felled, they shoot to life again in a little time; but, when once men die, they are lost for ever. A victory that was but the effect of a happy temerity, appeared to him not very praise-worthy, though it often was much admired.

This

His expedition into the Thracian Chersonnesus ^{ARTAX. LONGIM.}
 him great honour, and was of great advantage to all the Greeks of that country: for he not only strengthened the Grecian cities of that peninsula, by the colonies of Athenians which he carried thither; but he also shut up the Isthmus with a strong wall, with forts at proper distances from sea to sea; securing by that means the whole country from the perpetual incursions of the Thracians, who were very near neighbours to it.

He also sailed with an hundred ships round Peloponnesus, spreading the terror of the Athenian arms wheresoever he came, the success of which is not once interrupted on this occasion.

He advanced as far as the kingdom of Pontus with a large, well-manned, and magnificent fleet; and indulged the Grecian cities all they thought fit to ask of him. At the same time he exhibited to the Barbarian nations in that neighbourhood, to their kings and princes, the greatness of the power of the Athenians; and proved to them, by the security with which he sailed to all parts, that they possessed, unrivalled, the empire of the seas.

But so constant and shining a success began to dazzle the eyes of the Athenians. Intoxicated ^{Ibid. p. 164.} with the idea of their power and grandeur, they now revolved nothing but the boldest and most splendid projects. They were for ever talking of design they entertained of invading Egypt anew; of attacking the maritime provinces of the great king; of carrying their arms into Sicily, (a fatal and unhappy design, which at that time was not attended with ill consequences, though it was revived soon after;) and to extend their conquests towards Hetruria on one side, and Carthage on the other. Pericles had too much sense to acquiesce with such idle views, or to countenance them with his credit and approbation. On the contrary, his whole study was, to damp that restless

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ardour, and check that ambition which knew neither bounds or measure. In his opinion, the Athenians ought to employ their forces, in times to come, only in securing and preserving the conquests they had already gained; and he thought he had gained a great point, in weakning the power of the Lacedæmonians, which he always meditated; and this was particularly seen in the sacred war.

Plut. in
Pericl.
p. 164

This name was given to the war which was raised on account of Delphos. The Lacedæmonians having entred, armed, into the country where that temple is situated, had dispossessed the inhabitants of Phocis of the superintendence of that temple, and bestowed it on the Delphi. As soon as they left it, Pericles went thither with an army, and restored the Phocenses.

The Euboeans having rebelled at the same time, Pericles was obliged to march thither with an army. He was no sooner arrived there, but news was brought, that the inhabitants of Megara had taken up arms; and that the Lacedæmonians, headed by Plistonax their king, were on the frontiers of Attica. This obliged him to quit Euboea, and to go with all the dispatch imaginable to succour his country. The Lacedæmonian army being retired, he returned against the rebels, and again subjected all the cities of Euboea to the Athenians.

A. M.
3558.

Ant. J. C.

446.

Thucyd.

l. 1. p. 75.

Diod.

p. 87.

Being returned from this expedition, a truce for thirty years was concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. This treaty restored things to a tranquillity for the present: but as it did not descend to the root of the evil, nor cure the jealousy and enmity of the two nations, this calm was not of long duration.

S E C T. XIII.

New subjects of contention between the two nations, occasioned by the Athenians laying siege to Samos; by their succouring the people of Corcyra, and by their besieging Potidæa. An open rupture ensues.

THE Athenians, six years after, took up arms against Samos in favour of Miletus. These two cities were contesting for that of Priene, to which each claimed possession. It is pretended, that Pericles lighted up this war to please a famous courtesan, with whom he was very much smitten, whose name was Aspasia, and a native of Miletus. After several events, and various battles had been fought, Pericles besieged the capital of the island of Samos. It is related, that this was the first time he employed military engines, as battering-rams and *testudines*, invented by Artemon the engineer, who was lame, and therefore was always carried in a chair to the batteries, whence he was named Periphoretus. The use of these machines had been long known in the east. The Samians, after sustaining a nine months siege, surrendered. Pericles then raz'd their walls, dispossessed them of their ships, and demanded immense sums to defray the expences of the war. Part of this sum they paid down; agreed to disburse the rest at a certain time, and gave hostages by way of security for the payment.

After the reduction of Samos, Pericles being returned to Athens, buried in a splendid manner those who had lost their lives in this war, and himself spoke the funeral oration over their graves. This custom, which he first introduced, was afterwards observed very regularly. The senate of the Areopagus always appointed the orator on these occasions. He was chosen, ten years after,

An. M.
3564.
Ant. J. C.
440.
Thucyd.
l. 1. p. 75,
76.
Diod. l. 12.
p. 88, 89.
Plut. in
Pericl.
p. 165 —
167.

As^{xxx.} to perform the like ceremony in the beginning of
 LONGIM. the Peloponnesian war.

An. M. Pericles, who foresaw that a rupture would
 3572. soon break out between the Athenians and Lace-
 Ant. J. C. dæmonians, advised the former to send succour to
 432. the people of Corcyra, whom the Corinthians had
 Thucyd. invaded; and to win over to their interest that
 1. 1. p. 17 island which was so very formidable at sea; he
 —37. foretelling them, that they would be attacked by
 Diod. 1. 12. the Peloponnesians. Here follows the occasion of
 p. 90-93. the quarrel between the people of Corcyra and of
 Plut. in Corinth, which gave rise to that of Peloponnesus;
 Pericl. this being one of the most considerable events in
 p. 167. the Grecian history.

* Epidamnum, a maritime city of Macedonia among the Taulantii, was a colony of Corcyrans, and founded by Phalius of Corinth. This city growing, in time, very large and populous, divisions arose in it, and the common people drove out the most wealthy inhabitants, who went over to the neighbouring nations, and infected them greatly with their incursions. In this extremity, they first had recourse to the Corcyrans, and being refused by them, they addressed the Corinthians, who took them under their protection; sent succours to, and settled other inhabitants, in it. But they did not continue long unmolested there, the Corcyrans besieging it with a large fleet. The people of Corinth hastened to succour it, but having been defeated at sea, the city surrendered that very day, upon condition that the foreigners should be slaves, and the Corinthians prisoners, till further orders. The Corcyrans raised a trophy, murdered all their prisoners, except the Corinthians, and laid waste the whole country.

The year after the battle, the Corinthians raised a greater army than the former, and fitted out a

* This city was afterwards called Dyrrachium.

new fleet. The people of Corcyra, finding it ^{ARIST.} would be impossible for them to make head, singly, ^{LONGIM.} against such powerful enemies, sent to the Athenians to desire their alliance. The treaty of peace, concluded between the several nations of Greece, left such Grecian cities as had not yet declared themselves, the liberty of joining with whom they pleased, or of standing neuter. This the Corcyrans had hitherto done; they judging it their interest not to join with any one, and so had hitherto been without allies. But now they sent a deputation for this purpose to Athens, which the Corinthians hearing, they also sent deputies. The affair was debated with great warmth in presence of the people, who heard the reasons on both sides, and it was twice put to the vote in the assembly. The Athenians declared the first time in favour of the Corinthians; but afterwards changing their opinion, (doubtless on the remonstrances of Pericles) they made an alliance with the Corcyrans. However, they did not go so far as to conclude a league offensive and defensive with them; (for they could not declare war against Corinth, without falling out at the same time with all Peloponnesus,) but only agreed to succour each other mutually, in case they should be attacked, either personally, or in their allies. Their real design was, to set these two nations, who were so very powerful by sea, at variance; and after each should have exhausted the other, by a tedious war, to triumph over the weakest: For at that time there were but three states in Greece, who possessed powerful fleets; and these were, Athens, Corinth, and Corcyra. They also had a design on Italy and Sicily, which, their taking the island of Corcyra would very much promote.

On this plan they concluded an alliance with the Corcyrans, and accordingly sent them ten gallees, but with an order for them not to engage the

ARTAX.
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Corinthians, unless they should first invade the island of Corcyra, or some other place belonging to their allies : this precaution was used, in order that the articles of the truce might not be infringed.

But it was very difficult to obey these orders. A battle was fought between the Corcyrans and the Corinthians, near the island of Sibotis, opposite to Corcyra : and it was one of the most considerable engagements, with regard to the number of ships, that was ever fought between the Greeks. The advantage was pretty equal on both sides. About the end of the battle, as night was drawing on, twenty Athenian galleys came up. The Corcyrans, with this reinforcement, sailed next day by day-break towards the port of Sibotis, whither the Corinthians had retired, to see if they would venture a second combat. However, the latter contented themselves with sailing away in order of battle, without fighting. Both parties erected a trophy in the island of Sibote, each ascribing the victory to himself.

Thucyd.
l. 1. p.
37 42.
Diod. l. 12.
p. 93, 94.

From this war arose another, which occasioned an open rupture between the Athenians and Corinthians, and afterwards the war of Peloponnesus. Potidæa, a city of Macedonia, was a colony belonging to the Corinthians, which sent magistrates thither annually ; but it was dependent at that time on Athens, and paid tribute to it. The Athenians fearing this city would rise, and prevail with the rest of the Thracian allies to join in their rebellion ; commanded the inhabitants to demolish their walls on that side lying towards Pallene ; to give up hostages to them as sureties for their fidelity ; and to send away the magistrates which Corinth had appointed over them. Demands of so unjust a nature only fomented the insurrection. The Potidæans declared against the Athenians, and several neighbouring cities followed their example. And now Athens and Corinth took up arms severally, and

and sent forces thither. The two armies fought near Potidæa, and that of the Athenians gained the victory. Alcibiades, who was then very young, and Socrates his master, signalized themselves on this occasion. It is something very singular, to see a philosopher put on his coat of mail ; as well as to consider his behaviour and conduct in a battle. There was not a soldier in the whole army who so resolutely supported all the toils and fatigues of the campaign as Socrates. Hunger, thirst, and cold, were enemies he had long accustomed himself to trample under foot. Thrace, the scene of this expedition, was a frozen region. Whilst that the other warriors, covered with thick clothes and warm furs, lay close in their tents, and scarce ever dared to stir out of them ; Socrates used to come into the open air as thin clad as usual, and bare-footed. His gaiety and smart sayings were the life of all tables ; and invited others to move round the glass cheerfully, though he himself never drank wine to excess. When the armies engaged, it was then he performed his duty to a miracle. Alcibiades having been thrown from his horse and wounded, Socrates flew to him, covered him, as with a shield ; and, in sight of the whole army, prevented him and his arms from being taken by the enemy. The prize of valour was justly due to Socrates ; but as the generals seemed inclined to decree it to Alcibiades, on account of his illustrious birth ; Socrates, who only fought for opportunities to inflame him with the desire of true glory, contributed more than any other person, by the noble eulogium he made on his courage, to cause the crown and compleat suit of armour (which was the prize of valour) to be decreed to Alcibiades.

Notwithstanding the loss which the Corinthians had sustained in the battle, the inhabitants of Potidæa

ARTAX.
LONGIM.
Plut. in
Conviv. p.
219, 220.
Plut. in
Alcib.
p. 194.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

Thucyd.
l. i. p.
43-59.

Plut. in
Pericl.
p. 168.

tidæa refused, as obstinately as ever, to obey the orders which had been sent them. The city was therefore besieged. The Corinthians, fearing to lose a place of so much importance, addressed their allies in the strongest terms; when all of them, in conjunction, sent a deputation to Lacedæmonia, to offer up their complaints against the Athenians, as having infringed the articles of peace. The Lacedæmonians admitted them to audience in one of their ordinary assemblies. The Æginatæ, although very much disgusted at the Athenians, they yet did not send a deputation (publickly) thither; for fear of giving umbrage to a republick to whom they were subject, but then they acted (clandestinely) as strenuously as the rest. The Megarenses complained vehemently against the Athenians, inasmuch as they (contrary to the law of nations, and in prejudice of the treaty concluded between the Greeks) had prohibited them, by a publick decree, access to their fairs and markets, and excluded them from all the ports where they commanded. By this decree, according to Plutarch *, the Athenians declared an eternal and irreconcilable hatred against Megara; and give orders, for putting all such Megarenses to death, as should set their foot in Athens; and that all the Athenian generals, when they took the usual oath, should swear expressly, that they would send a body of soldiers twice a year, to lay waste the territories of the Megarenses.

* According to Plutarch, some persons pretended that Pericles had caused this decree to be enacted, to revenge the private injury done to Aspasia, from whose house the people of Megara had carried off two curtexans; and he cites some verses of Aristophanes, who, in a comedy entitled *Acharnenses*, reproaches Pericles with this action. But Thucydides, a contemporary author, and who was very well acquainted with all the transactions of Athens, does not say a word of this affair; and he is much more worthy of belief than a poet who was a professed slanderer.

The chief complaints were made by the Corinthian ambassador, who spoke with the utmost strength and freedom. He represented to the accedæmonians, that as they themselves never werved from the most inviolable integrity, either in publick or private transactions, they, for that very reason, were less suspicious of the probity of others; and that their own easiness of temper, prevented their discovering the ambition of their enemies: That instead of flying, with the swiftest activity, to meet dangers and calamities, they ever attempted to remedy them, till they were quite oppressed: That by their indolence and slowness, they had given the Athenians an opportunity of rising by insensible degrees, and of attaining their present pitch of grandeur and power. That it was quite different with regard to the Athenians, “ That this active and vigilant people were never at rest themselves, nor would suffer any other nation to be so. Employed, (says he) wholly in their projects, they form such only as are of the greatest and most intrepid kind; their deliberations are speedy, and they are swift in executing them. One enterprise serves them as a step by which they proceed to a second. Whether they are successful or unfortunate, they take advantage of every thing; and never stop in their career, or are disheartened. But you, who are oppress’d by such formidable enemies, are lulled asleep in a fatal tranquillity; and do not reflect, that a man who desires to live calm and easy, must not only forbear injuring others, but also not let any ill be done to himself; and that justice consists, not only in forbearing to commit evil, but likewise in preventing others from doing us any. Shall I be so free as to say it? Your integrity is of too antique a cast for the present state of affairs. It is necessary for men, in po-

“ liticks

ARRAZI:
LONDON.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

“ liticks as well as in all other things, to comply
 “ always with the times. When a people are at
 “ peace, they may follow their ancient maxims ;
 “ but when they are involved in a variety of diffi-
 “ culties, they must search for new expedients, and
 “ set every engine at work to extricate themselves.
 “ It was by these arts that the Athenians increased
 “ so greatly their power. Had you imitated their ac-
 “ tivity, they would not have dispossessed us of
 “ Corcyra, and would not now be laying siege to
 “ Potidæa. Follow, at least, their example on
 “ this occasion, by succouring the Potidæans and
 “ the rest of your allies, as your duty obliges you ;
 “ and do not force your friends and neighbours,
 “ by your forsaking them, to have recourse,
 “ (merely out of despair) to other powers.

The Athenian Ambassador, who was come to
 Sparta upon other Affairs, and was in the Assem-
 bly, did not think it adviseable to let this speech
 go unanswered. He put the Lacedæmonians in
 mind, of the still recent service which the repub-
 lick by which he was sent, had done to all Greece,
 which, (he said) merited some regard ; and that
 therefore it ought not to be envied, much less
 should endeavours be used to lessen its power.
 That the Athenians could not be charged with
 having usurped an empire over Greece ; since it was
 merely at the entreaty of their allies, and, in some
 measure with the consent of Sparta, that they had
 been forced to lay hold of the abandoned helm :
 That those who murmured, did it without grounds ;
 and only from the aversion which mankind in ge-
 neral have to dependence and subjection, though
 of the gentlest and most equitable kind : That he
 exhorted them to employ a sufficient time in de-
 liberating, before they came to a resolution ; and
 not involve themselves and all Greece in a war,
 which would necessarily be attended with the most
 fatal consequences. That gentle methods may be
 I found,

found, to end the feuds and divisions which arise among allies, without breaking at once into open war. However, that the Athenians, in case of an invasion, would be able to oppose force to force; and would prepare for a vigorous defence, after having invoked, against Sparta, the deities who take vengeance of those that fore swear themselves, and who violate the faith of treaties.

The ambassadors being withdrawn, and the affair debated, the majority were for war. But before it passed into an act, Archidamus king of Sparta, raising himself above those prejudices and passions which so strongly byassed the rest; and directing his views to futurity, made a speech, exhibiting, the dreadful consequences of the war they were going to embark in; took notice of the strength of the Athenians; exhorted them to first try gentie methods, which they themselves had first seemed to approve; but to make, in the mean time, the preparations necessary for carrying on so important an enterprize, and not be under any apprehensions, that their moderation and delays would be branded with the name of cowardice, since their past actions secured them from any suspicion of that kind.

But, notwithstanding all these wise exhortations, a war was resolved. The people caused the allies to come in again, and declared to them, that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggressors; but that it would be proper to first assemble all who were in the alliance, in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimously. This decree of the Lacedæmonians was made the fourteenth year of the truce; and was not owing so much to the complaints of the allies, as to the jealousy which the Athenians created, they having already subjected a considerable part of Greece.

Accordingly

ARTAX.
LONGIN.

Thucyd.

L. I. P. 77.

—84, and

93.

Accordingly the allies were convened a second time. They all gave their votes, in their several turns, from the greatest city to the least, and war was resolved by a general consent. However, as they had not yet made any preparations, it was judged adviseable to begin them immediately; and while this was doing, in order to gain time, and observe (speciously) the several formalities, to send ambassadors to Athens, and make complaints on account of the violation of the treaty.

The first who were sent thither, reviving an ancient complaint, required of the Athenians to drive from their city, the descendants of those who had profaned the temple of Minerva in the affair of * Cylon. As Pericles was of that family by the mother's side, the view of the Lacedæmonians, in their making this demand, was, either to procure the banishment or lessen the authority of that illustrious Athenian. However, it was not complied with. The second ambassadors required, to have the siege of Poddæ raised; to have those of Ægina set at liberty, and, above all, to have the decree enacted against the Megarenses repealed; declaring, that otherwise it would be impossible to bring about an accommodation. In fine, a third ambassador came, who took no notice of any of these particulars, but only said, that the Lacedæmonians were for peace; but that this could never be, except the Athenians should cease to infringe the liberties of Greece.

* This Cylon seized on the citadel of Athens above an hundred years before. Those who followed him, being besieged in it and reduced to the extremes of famine, fled for shelter to the temple of Minerva, where they afterwards

were taken out by force and cut to pieces. Those who advised this murder were declared guilty of impiety and sacrilege, and as such sent into banishment. However, they were recalled some time after.

S E C T. XIV.

Pericles is brought into trouble. He determines the Athenians to engage in war against the Lacedæmonians.

PERICLES opposed all these demands with great vigour, and especially that relating to the Megarenſes. He had great credit in Athens, and at the ſame time had many enemies. Theſe not daring to attack him at firſt perſonally, they proſecuted his moſt intimate friends, and thoſe for whom he had the greateſt eſteem, as Phidias, Aſpasia and Anaxagoras; and their deſign in this was, to ſound how the people ſtood affected towards Pericles himſelf. Plut. in Pericl. p. 168, 169.

Phidias was accuſed of having embezzled conſiderable ſums in the caſting the ſtatue of Minerva, which was his maſter-piece. The proſecution having been carried on, according to the uſual formalities, before the aſſembly of the people, not a ſingle proof of Phidias's pretended embezzlement was made good: For, that artiſt, from the firſt ſetting about that ſtatue, had, by Pericles's advice, contrived the workmanſhip of the gold in ſuch a manner, that all of it might be taken off and weighed; which accordingly Pericles bid the informers do in preſence of all the ſpectators. But Phidias had witneſſes againſt him, the truth of whoſe evidence he could not diſpute, any more than he could ſtifle their voice; and theſe were the fame and beauty of his works, the ever-exiſting cauſes of the envy which attacked him. The circumſtance which they could leaſt forgive in him was, his having repreſented to the life (in the battle of the Amazons, engraved on the ſhield of the goddeſs) his own perſon, and that of Pericles: and, by an imperceptible art, he had ſo blended Ariſtot. in tractat. de mund. p. 613.

ARTAX.
LXXIIM.

ed and incorporated these figures with the whole work, that it was impossible to craze them, without disfiguring and taking to pieces the whole statue. Phidias was therefore dragged to prison, where he came to his end, either by the common course of nature, or by poison. Other authors say, that he was only banished, and that after his exile he cast the famous statue of Jupiter standing in Olympia. It is not possible to excuse in any manner, the ingratitude of the Athenians, in thus making a prison or death the reward of a masterpiece of art; nor their excessive rigour, in punishing, as a capital crime, an action that appears innocent in itself; or which, to make the worst of it, was a vanity very pardonable in so great an artist.

Aspasia, a native of Miletus in Asia, had settled in Athens, where she was become very famous, not so much for the charms of her person, as for her vivacity and judgment, and her great knowledge. All the illustrious men in the city thought it an honour to frequent her house. Socrates himself used to visit her constantly; and was not ashamed to pass for her pupil, and to own that it was she who had taught him rhetoric. Pericles declared also, that he was obliged to Aspasia for his eloquence, which so greatly distinguished him in Athens; and that it was from her conversation he had imbibed the principles of the art of politics; she being exceedingly well versed in the maxims of government. Their intimacy was owing to still stronger motives. Pericles did not love his wife; so that he gave her up very freely to another man, and supplied her place with Aspasia, whom he loved to distraction, though so tarnished in her reputation with regard to modesty. Aspasia was therefore accused of impiety and a dissolute conduct; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Pericles saved her, by his intreaties, and by the compassion

Plut. in
Menex.
P. 235.

compassion he raised in the judges (he shedding a flood of tears on that occasion;) a weakness altogether unworthy his character, and the rank he bore, that, of supreme head of the most powerful state of Greece.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

A decree had been enacted, by which informations were ordered to be taken out against all such persons as did not allow the several particulars ascribed to the ministry of the gods; or those philosophers and others who taught what was passing in the skies, and the motions of the heavens; all which doctrines were thought injurious to the established religion. The scope and aim of this decree was, to raise a suspicion of Pericles with regard to these matters, because Anaxagoras had been his master. This philosopher taught, that one only intelligence had disintangled the chaos, and disposed the universe in the beautiful order in which we now see it; which tended directly to depreciate the gods of the pagan system. Pericles thinking it would be impossible for him to save the philosopher's life, sent him out of the city to a place of safety.

The enemies of Pericles seeing, that the people approved and received with pleasure these several informations, they impeached that great man himself, and charged him with embezzling the publick monies during his administration. A decree was made, ordering Pericles to give in immediately his accounts; and enacting further, that he should be indicted as having oppressed and defrauded the publick; and that the crime should be judged by fifteen hundred persons. Pericles had no real

* Τα θεῖα μὴ νομίζοντας, ὃ λόγος ἐστὶν ἡ μεταρσιων διδασκοντας. Anaxagoras teaching, that the divine intelligence alone gave a regular motion to all the parts of nature, and presided in the go-

vernment of the universe; destroyed, by that system, the plurality of gods, their powers and all the peculiar functions which were assigned to them.

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LONGIM.

cause of fear, because that he, in his administration, had acted with the utmost uprightness, especially with regard to the finances : nevertheless, he could not but be under some apprehensions from the ill-will of the people, when he considered their great fickleness and inconstancy. One day that Alcibiades, (when very young) went to visit Pericles ; he was told that he was not to be spoke with, because of some affairs of prodigious consequence he was then engaged in. Alcibiades enquiring what these mighty affairs were, he was answered, that Pericles was preparing to give in his accounts. *He ought rather, says Alcibiades, not give them in :* and indeed this was what Pericles at last resolved. To lay the storm, he made a resolution to no longer oppose the inclination the people discovered for the Peloponnesian war, preparations for which had been long carrying on ; firmly persuaded that this would soon silence all complaints against him ; that envy would yield to a more powerful motive ; and that the citizens, when in such imminent danger, would not fail of throwing themselves into his arms, and submit implicitly to his conduct, because of his great power, and the exalted reputation he enjoyed.

Plut. de
Herod.
malign.
p. 855,
856.

This is what some historians have related ; and the comick poets, in the life-time, and under the eye, as it were, of Pericles, spread such a report in publick, to sully, if possible, his reputation and merit, which raised the envy and enmity of many. Plutarch, on this occasion, makes a reflection, which may be of great service, not only to those who preside at the helm of state-affairs, but to all sorts of persons ; as well as of advantage in the common affairs of life. He thinks it strange, when actions are good in themselves, and are, outwardly, laudable in all respects ; that men, purely to discredit illustrious personages, should search into their hearts ; and from a spirit of the darkest
and

and most abject malice, should ascribe ſuch views and intentions as they poſſibly never dreamt of. He, on the contrary wiſhes, when the motive is obſcure, and the ſame action may be conſidered in different lights, that men would always view it in the moſt favourable of the two, and incline to judge candidly of it. He applies this maxim to the reports which had been ſpread concerning Pericles, as though he had lighted up the Peloponneſian war, merely out of ſelf-intereſted views; whereas, the whole tenor of his paſt conduct ought to have made it concluded, that it was wholly from reaſons of ſtate, and for the good of the publick, that he had at laſt acquieſced with this opinion, which he had hitherto oppoſed.

Whiſt this affair was carrying on at Athens, the Lacedæmonians ſent ſeveral embaſſies thither, one after another, to make the various demands above-mentioned. At laſt the affair was debated in the Aſſembly of the people, and it was reſolved they ſhould firſt give their votes jointly on each of the articles, before they gave a poſitive answer. The opinions, as is uſual, in theſe caſes, were divided; and ſome were for abolishing the decree enacted againſt Megara, which ſeemed to be the chief obſtacle to the peace.

Pericles ſpoke on this occaſion, with the utmoſt force of eloquence, which, his view to the publick welfare and the honour of his country, enflamed, and made more triumphant than ever. He ſhewed in the firſt place, that the decree relating to Megara, on which the greateſt ſtreſs was laid, was not of ſo little conſequence as they imagined. That the demand made by the Lacedæmonians on this occaſion, was done merely to ſound the diſſentions of the Athenians, and to try whether it could be poſſible to frighten them out of their den; that ſhould they recede on this occaſion, would betray a fear and weakneſs: That the

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

Thucyd.
l. 1. p. 93
—99.
Diod. l. 12.
p. 95—97.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

affair was of no less importance than the giving up to the Lacedæmonians, the Empire which the Athenians had possessed during so many years, by their courage and resolution. That should the Athenians submit on this occasion, the Lacedæmonians would immediately prescribe new laws to them, as to a people who were seized with dread : whereas, if they made but a stout resistance, their opponents would be obliged to treat them, at least, on the foot of equals : That with regard to the present contests, arbiters might be chosen, in order to adjust them in an amicable way ; but that it did not become the Lacedæmonians, to command the Athenians, in a magisterial tone, to quit Potidæa, to free Ægina and revoke the decree relating to Megara : That such an imperious behaviour was directly contrary to the treaty, which declared in express terms, *That should any disputes arise among the allies, they should be decided by pacifick methods,* AND WITHOUT ANY PARTY'S BEING OBLIGED TO GIVE UP THE LEAST PORTION OF WHAT HE POSSESSED : That the surest way to prevent a government from being eternally contesting its possessions, is to take up arms, and dispute its rights sword in hand ; that the Athenians, had just reason to believe they would gain their cause this way ; and to give them a stronger idea of this truth, he exhibited to them in the most pompous light, the present state of Athens, giving a very particular account of its treasure, its revenues, fleets, land as well as sea forces, and those of its allies ; contrasting these several things with the poverty of the Lacedæmonians, who (he said) had no money, which is the sinews of war, not to mention the poor condition of their navy, on which they most depended. And indeed, it appeared by the treasury, that the Athenians had brought from Delos to their city, nine thousand six hundred talents, which make near twenty

Dion. l. 12. p. 96, 97. eight

eight millions. The annual contributions of the allies amounted to four hundred and sixty talents, that is, to near fourteen hundred thousand french livres. In cases of necessity, the Athenians would find infinite resources from the ornaments of the temples, since those of the statue of Minerva only, amounted to fifty talents of gold, that is, fifteen hundred thousand french livres, which might be taken away from the statue without dispoiling it in any manner, and be afterwards fixed on again in more auspicious times. With regard to the land forces, they amounted to very near thirty thousand men, and the fleet consisted of three hundred gallies. Above all, he advised them not to venture a battle, in their own country, against the Peloponnesians, whose troops were superiour in number to theirs : not to value the havock which might be made in their lands, since these might easily be restored to their former condition ; but to consider, as greatly important, the death of their men, this being an irretrievable loss : to confine all their politicks to the defending of their city, and preserving the empire of the seas, which would certainly one day, give them the superiority over their enemies. He laid down the plan for carrying on the war, not for a single campaign, but during the whole time it might last ; and exhibited to them the evils which would very probably come upon them, should they deviate from his plan. Pericles, after adding other considerations, taken from the genius or character, and the interior government of the two republicks ; the one uncertain and fluctuating in its deliberations, and rendered still slower in the execution, from its being obliged to wait for the consent of the allies ; the other speedy, determinate, independent, and mistress of its resolutions, which is no indifferent circumstance with regard to the success of enterprises. Pericles, I say, ended his speech, and gave

ARTAX.
 LONGIM.

his opinion as follows. " We have no more to
 " do but to dismiss the ambassadors ; and to give
 " them this answer, that we permit those of Mc-
 " gara to trade with Athens, upon condition that
 " the Lacedæmonians shall not prohibit either us,
 " or our allies, their commerce. With regard to
 " the cities of Greece, we shall leave those free
 " who enjoyed it at the time of our agreement,
 " provided they shall do the same with regard to
 " those who are dependent on them. We do not
 " refuse to submit the decision of our duties to ar-
 " biters, and will not first begin the war : how-
 " ever, in case of an invasion, we shall make a
 " stout and resolute defence."

The ambassadors were answered as Pericles had dictated. They returned home and never came again to Athens ; soon after which the Peloponne-
 sian war broke out.

CHAPTER II.

Transactions of the Greeks in Sicily and Italy.

AS the Peloponnefian war is a mighty event, which takes up a considerable number of years ; before I enter upon the history of it, it may be proper to relate, in few words, the most considerable transactions which had happened in *Magna Græcia*, till the time we are now writing on, whether in Sicily or Italy.

S E C T.

SECT. I.

The Carthaginians are defeated in Sicily. Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum. Reign of Gelon in Syracuse, and his two brothers. Liberty is restored.

I. GELON.

WE have seen that Xerxes, whose project tended to no less than the total extirpation of the Greeks, had prevailed with the Carthaginians to wage war against the people of Sicily. They landed in it an army of above three hundred thousand men, and sent thither a fleet of two thousand ships, and upwards of three thousand vessels for the baggage, &c. Hamilcar, the ablest of the Carthaginian generals at that time, was appointed to head this expedition. However, the success was not answerable to these mighty preparations; the Carthaginians ~~was~~ entirely defeated by Gelon, who at that time had the chief authority in Syracuse.

This Gelon was born in a city of Sicily, situated on the southern coast between Agrigentum and Camarina, called Gela, whence he perhaps received his name. He had greatly signalized himself in the wars which Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, carried on against the neighbouring powers, most of whom he subdued, and had like to have taken Syracuse. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon, upon pretence of defending the rights and possession of the tyrant's children, took up arms against his own citizens, and having overcome them in a battle, he seized upon the authority in his own name. Some time after he possessed himself also of Syracuse, by the assistance of some exiles whom he had recalled into it, and who had engaged the populace to open the gates of that city to him. He then gave Gela to Hiero his brother, and bent

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

his whole endeavours to extend the limits of the empire of Syracuse; and rose to great power in a short time. We may form a judgment of this* from the army which he offered the Grecian ambassadors, who came to desire his succour against the king of Persia; and by the demand he insisted upon, viz. of being appointed generalissimo of all their forces, which however they refused. The fear he was in at that time, of being soon invaded by the Carthaginians, was the chief occasion of his not succouring the Greeks. He was extremely political in his conduct, insomuch that when news was brought him of Xerxes's having crossed the Hellespont, he sent a trusty person with rich presents; with orders for him to wait the issue of the first battle, and in case Xerxes should be victorious, to pay homage to him in his name, otherwise to bring back the money. I now return to the Carthaginians.

They were landed in Sicily at the earnest solicitations of Terillus, formerly tyrant of Himera, but dethroned by Theron, another tyrant who reigned at Agrigentum. The family of the latter was one of the most illustrious of all Greece, he being descended in a direct line, from Cadmus. He married into the family which at that time swayed the scepter of Syracuse, and which consisted of four brothers, Gelon, Hiero, Polyzelus, and Thrasylbulus. He married his daughter to the first, and himself married the daughter of the third.

Hamilcar having landed at Panormus, began by laying siege to Himera. Gelon hastened, with a great army, to the succour of his father-in-law, when uniting, they defeated the Carthaginians. This was perhaps the most compleat victory that was ever won.

* He promised to furnish two hundred ships, and thirty thousand men.

The battle was fought the same day with the engagement of the * Thermopylæ. I related the particulars of it in the history of the Carthaginians. One remarkable circumstance in the conditions of the peace, which Gelon prescribed the conquered, was, that they should cease to sacrifice their children to the god Saturn; which shows, at the same time, the cruelty of the Carthaginians, and the piety of Gelon.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.
Tom. I.
p. 258.
Plut. in
Apophth.
p. 175.

The spoils won on this occasion were of an immense value. Gelon allotted the greatest part of them for the ornament of the temples in Syracuse. They also took a numberless multitude of prisoners. These he shared, with the utmost equity, with his allies, who employed them, after putting irons on their feet, in cultivating their lands, and in building magnificent edifices, as well for the ornament as the utility of the cities. Several of the citizens of Agrigentum had each five hundred for his own share.

Gelon, after so glorious a victory, so far from growing prouder, behaved with greater affability and humanity than ever towards the citizens and his allies. Being returned from the campaign, he convened the assembly of the Syracusans, who were ordered to come armed into it. However, he himself came unarmed thither: declared to the assembly every step of his conduct; the uses to which he had applied the several sums with which he had been intrusted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that if they had any complaints to make against him, his person

A. M.
3525-
Ant. J. C.
479.

* Herodotus says, that this battle was fought the same day with that of Salamis, which does not appear so probable. For the Greeks, informed of Gelon's successes, intreated him to succour them against Xerxes, which they would not have done after the battle of Salamis, which fired their courage so much, that after this battle, they imagined themselves strong enough to resist their enemies, and to put an end to the war, to their own advantage, without the assistance of any other power.

and

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

Plut. in
Timol.

P. 247.
Ælian.

l. 13. c. 37.

and life were at their disposal. All the people, struck with so unexpected a speech, and still more with the unusual confidence he reposed in them, answered by acclamations of joy, praise, and gratitude; and immediately, with one consent, invested him with the supreme authority, and the title of king. And, to preserve to latest posterity, the remembrance of Gelon's memorable action, who had come into the assembly, and put his life into the hands of the Syracusans, they erected a statue in his honour, representing him simply in the habit of a citizen, ungirded, and unarmed. This statue met afterwards with a very singular fate, and worthy of the motives which had occasioned its setting up. Timoleon, above a hundred and thirty years after, having restored the Syracusans to their liberty, thought it advisable, in order to erase from it the least footsteps of the tyrannical government, and at the same time to assist the wants of the people; to sell publickly all the statues of those princes and tyrants who had governed it till that time. But first, he brought them to a trial, as so many criminals; hearing the depositions and witnesses of each. They all were condemned with one voice, the statue of Gelon excepted, which found an eloquent advocate and defender, in the strong and sincere gratitude which the citizens entertained for this great man, whose virtue they rever'd as if he had been still living.

The Syracusans had no cause to repent their having intrusted Gelon with the whole power and authority. This did not heighten the zeal with which he had always been fired for their welfare, but only enabled him to do them more important service: For, by a change till then unheard of, and the like of which * Tacitus never met with

Diod. l.

11. p. 55.

* Solus omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est. *Hist. lib. 1. cap. 50.*

but in Vespasian, he was the first man who was be-
come more virtuous, by his enjoyment of the royal
authority. He made upwards of ten thousand
foreigners, who had served under him, denizens.
His views were, to people the capital, to increase
the power of the state, to reward the services of
his brave and faithful soldiers ; and to attach them
more strongly to Syracuse, from the remembrance
of the advantageous settlement which this had pro-
cured them, by their being incorporated with the
citizens.

He was particularly famous for his inviolable
sincerity, his truth and fidelity, in keeping his
promises ; a quality very essential to a prince,
which alone is capable of gaining him the love
and confidence of his subjects and of foreigners ;
and ought to be considered as the basis of all just
politicks and good government. Wanting mo-
ney to carry on an expedition he meditated, (this,
very probably, was before he had triumphed over
the Carthaginians.) he addressed the people, in or-
der to obtain a contribution from them : but find-
ing the Syracusans unwilling to be at this expence,
he told them, that he asked nothing but a loan ;
and that he would engage himself to pay it, as
soon as the war should be ended. He then was
furnished with the sums he wanted ; and he repaid
them at the time agreed upon. How happy is
that government where such justice and equity are
exercised ; and how mistaken are those ministers
and princes, who violate them in any manner !

One of the chief objects of his attention, and
in which his successor imitated him, was to make
the tilling of the ground be looked upon as
an honourable employment. It is well known
how fruitful Sicily was in corn ; and the immense
revenues which might be produced from so rich a
soil when industriously cultivated. He animated
the husbandmen by his presence, and delighted in
some-

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

Plut in
Apophth.
P. 175.

Plut. ibid.

ARTAX. sometimes appearing at their head, in the same
LONGIM. manner, as, on other occasions, he had marched at
 the head of armies. His intention, says Plutarch,
 was not merely to make the country rich and
 fruitful; but also to exercise his subjects, to ac-
 custom and inure them to toils; and, by that
 means, to preserve them from a thousand disor-
 ders, which inevitably follow a soft and in-
 dolent life. There are few maxims (in the af-
 fair of politicks) on which the antients have in-
 sisted more strongly, than on that relating to the
 tilling and cultivating of their lands; a manifest
 proof of their great wisdom, and the profound
 knowledge they had of those particulars which
 constitute the strength and solid happiness of a state.
 Xenophon, in a dialogue, the subject of which is
 government, entitled Hiero, shows, the great ac-
 vantage it would be to a state, were the king
 studious to reward those who should excell in hus-
 bandry, and whatever relates to the cultivating of
 lands. He says the same of war, of trade, and of all
 the arts; on which occasion, if honours were paid to
 all those who should distinguish themselves in them,
 it would give life and motion to all things; would
 excite a noble and laudable emulation among the
 citizens, and give rise to a thousand inventions to
 perfect those arts.

P. 916,
 917.

It does not appear that Gelon had been educated
 in the same manner as the children of the rich a-
 mong the Greeks, who were taught musick and the
 art of playing on instruments very carefully. Pos-
 sibly this was because of his mean birth, or rather
 was owing to his dis-inclination to those kind of ex-
 ercises. One day that there was presented at an
 entertainment, according to the usual custom, a
 lyre to each of the guests; when it was Gelon's
 turn, he, instead of sounding the instrument as the
 rest had done, caused his horse to be brought,
 mounted him with wonderful agility and grace;
 and

Plut. in
 Apophth.
 P. 175.

and showed that he had learnt a nobler exercise ARTAX.
 than playing on the lyre. LONGIM.

Ever since the defeat of the Carthaginians in Diod. l. 11.
 Sicily, the several cities of it enjoyed a profound p. 29, 30.
 peace, and Syracuse especially was joyful and
 happy, under the auspicious government of Gelon.
 He was not born in Syracuse, and yet all the in-
 habitants of that city, though so extremely jealous
 of their liberty, had forced him, as it were, to
 accept of the diadem. Though an alien, the su-
 preme power went in search of him; uninvited by
 any other circumstance but his rare merit. Gelon
 was thoroughly acquainted with all the duties of
 the regal office, as well as its great weight; and he
 accepted it in no other view but to do good to
 those he should preside over. He thought the
 scepter was put into his hands, with no other de-
 sign than for him to defend the state, to preserve
 order in all things, to protect innocence and jus-
 tice; and to exhibit to all his subjects, by his sim-
 ple, modest, industrious and regular life, a pattern of
 all the civil virtues. He himself assumed no part of
 the kingly office but the toils and cares of it, but
 a zeal for the publick welfare, and the sweet sa-
 tisfaction which results from the procuring happi-
 ness to millions of men: in a word, he conside-
 red the kingly office as an engagement, and a
 means to procure the felicity of a greater number
 of men. He banished from it pomp, ostentation,
 licentiousness, and the committing evil with impu-
 nity. He himself seemed not to govern, but con-
 tented himself with suffering the laws to rule.
 He never made his inferiours feel that he was
 their master, but only inculcated to them that
 both ought to yield to reason and justice. To
 procure obedience to himself, he employed no o-
 ther methods but persuasion and a good example,
 which are the weapons of virtue, and are alone ca-

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

pable of procuring a sincere and uninterrupted obedience.

A rever'd old age, a name that formed the delight of all his subjects, a reputation equally diffused within and without his kingdom; these were the fruits of that wisdom which was preserved on the throne to the last gasp. His reign was short, and only just showed him, as it were, to Sicily, to exhibit in his person the pattern of a good and true king. He left the world, after having reigned only seven years, to the infinite regret of all his subjects. Every family imagined itself deprived of its best friend, its protector and father. The people erected, in the place where his wife Demarata had been buried, a splendid mausolæum, surrounded with nine towers of a surprising height and magnificence; and decreed those honours to him, which were then paid to the demi-gods or heroes. The Carthaginians afterwards demolished the mausolæum, and Agathocles the towers: but, says the historian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which destroys all grosser things, could destroy the glory of his name, or abolish the memory of his exalted virtues and noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraved in the hearts of the Sicilians.

II. HIERO.

A. M. 3532. Ant. J. C. 472. After Gelon's death, the scepter continued near twelve years in his family. He was succeeded by Hiero, his eldest brother.

It will be necessary for us, in order to reconcile the authors who have writ on this prince, some of whom declare him to have been a good king, and others a detestable tyrant; it will be necessary, I say, to distinguish the periods. It is very probable that Hiero, dazzled, in the beginning of his reign, by the glitter of sovereign power, and corrupted

rupted by the flattery of his courtiers, studiously endeavoured to deviate from that path which his predecessor had pointed out to him, and in which he had found himself so happy. This young prince was covetous, headstrong, unjust, and studious of nothing but the gratifying his passions, without once endeavouring to gain the esteem and affection of the people; who, on the other side, had the utmost aversion for a prince, whom they looked upon as a tyrant over them, rather than as a king; and nothing but the veneration they had for Gelon's memory, was a restraint upon, and kept them from rising in open rebellion.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

Diod. l. 21.
P. 51.

Some time after he had ascended the throne, he had violent suspicions of Polyzelus his brother, whose great credit among the citizens, made him fear that he had a design to dethrone him. However, in order to get rid, silently, of an enemy whom he fancied very dangerous, he resolved to put him at the head of some forces he was going to send to the succour of the Sibaritæ against the Crotonienses, hoping that he would lose his life in this expedition. His brother refusing to accept of this command, he was exasperated the more. Theron, who had married Polyzelus's daughter, joined with his father-in-law. This gave rise to mighty contests, which lasted many years between the kings of Syracuse and Agrigentum; however, they at last were reconciled by the mediation of Simonides the poet; and to make their reconciliation lasting, they cemented it by a new alliance, Hiero marrying Theron's sister; after which there was for ever a harmony between the two monarchs.

Diod. l. 11.
P. 36.

Schol. in
Pind.

At first, an infirm state of health, which was increased by repeated illnesses, gave Hiero an opportunity of thinking seriously; after which he resolved to send for men of learning, who might converse agreeably with him, and furnish him with useful

Ælian.
l. 4 c. 15.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

useful instructions. The most famous poets of the age came then to his court, as Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, and Epicharmus; and it is affirmed that their delightful conversation did not a little contribute to soften the harsh and severe temper of Hiero.

In Aph.
p. 175.

Plutarch relates a noble saying of his, which shows an excellent disposition in a prince. He declared, that his palace and his ears should be always open to every man who would tell him the truth, and without disguise.

The poets above-mentioned, excelled, not only in poetry, but were also possessed of a great fund of learning, and considered and consulted as the sages of their age. This is what * Cicero says particularly of Simonides. He had a great ascendant over the king's mind; and the only use he made of it was, to persuade him to do good actions.

Cic. l. 1. r.
de Nat.
deor. n. 60.

They often used to converse on philosophical subjects. I observed on another occasion, that Hiero, in one of these conversations, asked Simonides his opinion with regard to the nature and attributes of the deity. The latter desired one day's time to consider on it; the next day he asked two, and went on increasing in the same proportion. The prince being urgent with him to give the reason of these delays, he confessed, that the subject was above his comprehension, and that the more he reflected, the more obscure it appeared to him.

Xenophon has left us an excellent treatise on the art of governing well, entitled Hiero, and writ by way of dialogue between this prince and Simonides. Hiero undertakes to prove to the poet, that tyrants and kings are not so happy as is ge-

* Simonides, non poeta solum doctus sapiensque traditur. Lib. suavis, verum etiam ceteroqui 1. de Nat. Deor. n. 60.

nerally imagined. Among the great number of ^{ARTAX. LONGIM.} proofs alledged by him, he insists chiefly on their vast unhappiness in being deprived of the greatest comfort and blessing in this life, viz. the enjoyment of a true friend, to whose bosom they may safely confide their secrets and afflictions; who may share with them in their joy and sorrow; in a word, a second self, who may form but one heart, one soul with them. Simonides, on the other side, lays down admirable maxims with respect to the well-governing of a kingdom. He represents to him, that a king is not sent into the world for his own sake, but for the welfare of mankind: that his grandeur consists, not in building magnificent palaces for himself to reside in, but in raising of temples, and in fortifying and embellishing cities: that it is glorious for a king, when his subjects don't stand in fear of him, but are afraid of any evil befalling him: that a truly royal care is, not to enter the lists with the first comer at the Olympick games, (for the princes of that age were passionately fond of them, and especially * Hiero) but to contend with the neighbouring kings, with regard to the diffusing plenty over all his dominions, and endeavouring to form the felicity of his people.

Nevertheless, another poet (Pindar) applauds Hiero for the victory he had won in the horse-race. "This prince, (says he, in his ode) who governs with equity the inhabitants of opulent Sicily, has gathered the quintessence of all the virtues. He takes a noble delight in the most exquisite strokes and performances of poetry

* It is said that Themistocles, seeing him arrive at the Olympick games with a splendid equipage, would have had him forbid them, because he had not succoured the Greeks against the common enemy, any more than Gelon his brother; which motion did honour to the Athenian general. *Ælian.* l. 9. c. 5.

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“ and musick. He loves melodious airs, such as
“ it is customary for us to sound, at the banquets
“ given us by our dearest friends. Rouze then
“ thy self, take thy lyre, and raise it to the Do-
“ rick pitch. If thou feelest thy self animated by
“ a glorious fire in favour of * Pysa and Phœre-
“ nice; if they have waked the softest transports
“ in thy mind, when that generous courser (with-
“ out being quickned by the spur) flew along
“ the banks of the Alpheus, and carried his royal
“ rider to glorious victory: O sing the king of
“ Syracuse, the ornament of our horse-races!”

The whole ode, translated by the late Mr. Maf-
fieu, may be seen in the sixth volume of the me-
moirs of the academy of inscriptions and Belles-
Lettres, whence I have extracted the few particu-
lars above. I was very glad to give the reader
some idea of Pindar, by this little specimen.

The next ode to this, was composed in honour
of Theron king of Agrigentum, victorious in
the chariot-race. The diction of it is so sublime,
the thoughts so noble, and the moral so pure,
that many look upon it as Pindar's master-
piece.

I cannot say how far we may depend on the
rest of the praises which Pindar gives Hiero, for
poets are not always very sincere in the elogiums
they bestow on princes: however, it is certain
that Hiero had made his court the resort of all
persons of wit and sense; and that he had invited
them to it by his affability and courteous treat-
ment, and much more by his liberality, which is
a great merit in a king.

We cannot bestow on Hiero's court the elo-

* *Pysa was the city, near to name of Hiero's courser, from
which the Olympick games were fixing the victor.
solemnized: and Phœrenice the*

gium which * Horace gives to that of Meccœnas, ^{APTAX. LONGIM.} in which a character or turn of mind prevailed that is rarely found among scholars, and which is nevertheless worth all their erudition. This amiable court, says Horace, was an utter stranger to the mean and groveling sensations of envy and jealousy; and men saw, in those who shared in the master's favour, a superiour merit or credit, without taking the least umbrage at it. But it ^{Scholias. Pind.} was far otherwise in the court of Hiero or of Theron. It is said that Simonides, and Bacchylides his nephew, employed the utmost efforts of criticism, to lessen the esteem which those princes had for Pindar's works. The latter, by way of reprisal, ridicules them very strongly in his ode to Theron, in comparing *them to ravens, who croak in vain, against the divine bird of Jupiter*. But modesty was not the virtue which distinguished Pindar.

Hiero, having drove the antient inhabitants of Diod. l. 11. Catana and Naxos from their country, settled a P. 37. colony of ten thousand men there, half of whom were Syracusans, and the rest Peloponnesians. This prompted the inhabitants of those two cities to appoint, after his death, the same solemnities in his honour, as were bestowed on heroes or demi-gods, because they considered him as their founder.

* ——— Non isto vivimus illic,
Quo tu rere, modo. Domus hæc nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis hic aliena malis. Nil mi officit unquam,
Ditior hic aut est quia doctior. Est locus unicuique suus.
Horat. lib. 1. Satyr. 9.

That is,

*Sir, you mistake, that's not our course of life,
We know no jealousies, no brawls, no strife;
From all those ills our patron's house is free
None, 'cause more learned or wealthy, troubles me,
We have our stations, all their own pursue, &c.*

C R I T I C I S M.

ARTAX.

LONGIM.

Diod.p.50

He showed great favour to the children of Anaxilaus, formerly tyrant of Zanele, and a great friend to Gelon his brother. As they were come to years of maturity, he exhorted them to take the government into their own hands; after Micythus, their tutor, should have informed them of the perfect state of it, and how he himself had behaved in the administration. The latter, having assembled the nearest relations and most intimate friends of the young princes, gave, in their presence, so good an account of his guardianship, that the whole assembly (raised to admiration) bestowed the highest encomiums on his prudence, his integrity and justice. Matters were carried so far, that the young princes were extremely urgent with him to preside in the administration, as he had hitherto done. However, the wise tutor, preferring the sweets of ease to the glitter of power; and being persuaded at the same time, that it would be for the happiness of the government should the young princes take the reins of empire into their own hands, he resolved to retire from business. Hiero died, after having swayed the scepter eleven years.

III. THRASYBULUS.

Diod.l.11.

p. 51, 52.

He was succeeded by Thrasybulus his brother, who, by his evil conduct, contributed very much to the making him be regretted. Swelled with pride and a brutal haughtiness, he considered men as mere worms; vainly fancying that they were created for him to trample upon, and that he was of a quite different nature from them. He abandoned himself implicitly to the flattering counsels of the giddy young courtiers who surrounded him. He treated all his subjects with the utmost severity; banishing some, confiscating the possessions of others, and putting great numbers to death. So hard a captivity grew soon insupportable to the
Syr-

Syracusans; and therefore they implored the succour of the neighbouring cities, whom also it concerned to shake off the tyrant's yoke, Thrasylbulus was besieged even in Syracuse, the sovereignty of part of which he had reserved to himself, viz. Acradina, and the island which was very well fortified; but the third region, or quarter of the city, called Tyche, was possessed by the enemy. After making a feeble resistance, and demanding to capitulate, he left the city, and withdrew into banishment, among the Locri. He had sat but a year on the throne. In this manner the Syracusans recovered their liberty. They also delivered the rest of the cities of Sicily from the tyranny; established a popular government in all places, and maintained that form themselves during threescore years, till the reign of Dionysius the tyrant, who again enslaved them.

After Sicily had been delivered from the government of the tyrants, and all the cities of it were restored to their liberty; as the country was extremely fruitful in itself, and the peace which all places enjoyed, gave the inhabitants of this island an opportunity of cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks; the people grew very powerful, and amassed great riches. To perpetuate to latest posterity, the remembrance of the happy day in which they had thrown off the yoke of slavery, by the banishment of Thrasylbulus; it was decreed in the general assembly of the nation, that a colossal statue should be set up, to Jupiter the deliverer; that on the anniversary of this day, a festival should be solemnized, by way of thanksgiving, for the restoration of their liberty; and that there should be sacrificed, in honour of the gods, four hundred and fifty bulls, with which the people should be entertained, on a general holiday.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

Ibid. p. 65.

There nevertheless lay concealed in the minds of many, I know not what secret leaven of tyranny, which frequently disturbed the harmony of this peace, and occasioned several tumults and emotions in Sicily, the particulars of which I shall omit. To prevent the evil consequences of them, the Syracusans established the Petalism, which differed very little from the Athenian Ostracism; and was so called from the Greek *πέταλον*, signifying a leaf, because the votes were then given on an olive leaf. This judgment was pronounced against such citizens whose great power made the people apprehensive that they aspired to the tyranny, and banished them for ten years; however, it did not long continue in force, and was soon abolished; because the dread of falling under its censure, having prompted the most virtuous men to retire, and lay aside the administration; the chief employments were now filled with such citizens only as had the least merit.

Diod. p. 67
—70.

DEUCETIUS, according to Diodorus, was chief over the people who were properly called Sicilians. Having united them all (the inhabitants of Hybla excepted) into one body, he became very powerful, and formed several great enterprizes. It was he who built the city Palica, near the temple of the gods called Palici. This city was very famous on account of some wonders which are related of it; and still more from the sacred nature of the oaths which were there taken, the violation whereof was said to be for ever followed by a sudden and exemplary punishment. This was a secure asylum for all persons who were oppressed by a superiour power; and especially for slaves who were unjustly abused, or too cruelly treated by their masters, they continuing in safety in this temple, till such time as certain arbiters and mediators had made their peace; and there was not a single instance of a master's having ever forfeited the promise

wife he had made to pardon his slaves; so greatly the gods who presided over this temple were renowned, for the severe vengeance they took on those who violated their oaths. ARTAX.
LONGIM.

This Deucetius, after having been successful on a great many occasions, and won several victories, particularly over the Syracusans; saw his fortune change on a sudden by the loss of a battle, and was abandoned by the greatest part of his forces. In the consternation and despondency into which so general and sudden a desertion threw him, he formed such a resolution as despair only could suggest. He withdrew in the night to Syracuse; advanced as far as the great square of the city, and there, falling prostrate at the foot of the altar, he abandoned his life and dominions to the mercy of the Syracusans, that is, to his professed enemies. The singularity of this spectacle drew great numbers of people to it. The magistrates immediately convened the people, and debated on the affair. They first heard the orators, whose business was generally to address the people by their speeches; and these animated them prodigiously against Deucetius, as a publick enemy, whom providence seemed to throw into their way, to revenge and punish, by his death, all the injuries he had done the republick. A speech in this cast, struck all the virtuous part of the assembly with horror. The most antient and wisest of the senators represented, "That they were not to consider what punishment Deucetius deserved, but how it behoved the Syracusans to behave on that occasion; that they ought not to look upon him any longer as an enemy, but as an humble petitioner, a character by which his person was made sacred and inviolable. That there was a goddess (Nemesis) who took vengeance of crimes, especially of cruelty and impiety, and who doubtless would not suffer that to go unpunished: That besides the baseness and inhumanity

ARTAX. "humanity there is in insulting the unfortunate, and
 LONGIM. "in treading to pieces those who are already under one's foot; it was worthy the grandeur and
 "goodness natural to the Syracusans, to exert
 "their clemency even to those who least deserved
 "it." All the people were won over to this opinion, and, with one consent, spared Deucetius's life. He was ordered to reside in Corinth, the metropolis and foundress of Syracuse; and the Syracusans engaged themselves to furnish Deucetius with all things necessary for him to subsist honourably in it. What reader, who compares these two different opinions, does not perceive which of them was the noblest and most generous?

S E C T. II.

Of some famous persons and cities in Magna Grecia.
Pythagoras, Charondas, Zaleucus, Milo the Athleta; Croton, Sybaris, and Thurium.

I. P Y T H A G O R A S.

Diog.
 Laert.
 in vit.
 Pythag.
 A. M.
 348q.
 Ant. J. C.
 524.

IN relating the particulars concerning Magna Grecia in Italy, I must not omit Pythagoras who was the glory of it. He was born in Samos. After having travelled into a great many countries, and enriched his mind with the most excellent learning of every kind, he returned to his native country, but did not make a long stay in it, because of the tyrannical government which was established there by Polycrates, who yet had the highest regard for him, and showed him all the esteem that was due to his rare merit. But the study of the sciences, and particularly of philosophy, is scarce compatible with slavery, though of the gentlest and most honourable kind. He therefore went into Italy, and resided usually either at Croton, at Metapontum, at Heraclea, or Tarentum. Servius Tullius, or Tarquinius Superbus, reigned

Liv. l. i.
 u. 18.

reigned in Rome at that time; which quite invalidates the opinion of those who imagined that Numa Pompilius, the second king of the Romans, who lived upwards of an hundred years before, had been Pythagoras's disciple; an opinion that very probably was grounded on the resemblance of their manners, their disposition and principles.

* The whole country soon felt very happy effects from the presence of this excellent philosopher. An inclination for study, and a love of wisdom, diffused themselves almost universally in a very short time. Multitudes flocked from all the neighbouring cities to get a sight of Pythagoras, to hear him, and to improve by his salutary counsels. The several princes of the country took a pleasure in inviting him to their courts, which they thought honoured by his presence; and all were delighted with his conversation, and glad to learn from him the art of governing nations with wisdom. His school became the most famous that had ever been till that age. He had no less than four or five hundred disciples. Before he admitted them in that quality, they were probationers five years, during which time he obliged them to keep the strictest silence; he thinking it proper for them to be informed with knowledge, before they should attempt to speak. I shall take notice of his tenets and sentiments, when I come to speak of the various sects of philosophers; it was well known, that the transmigration of souls was one of the chief of them. His disciples had the greatest reverence for every word he uttered; and, if he did but barely aver a thing, he was immediately believed without its being once examined; and to assure that a thing was true, they used to express themselves in this manner, *The master said it*, *How*. Αὐτὸς ἔφη.

* Pythagoras, cum in Italiam venisset, exornaret eam Græciam, quæ magna dicta est, et privatim et publicè, præstantissimis et institutis, et artibus, Cic. *Tuscul. Quæst.* l. 5. n. 10.

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LONGIM.

ever, the disciples carried their deference and docility too far, in thus waving all enquiry, and in sacrificing implicitly their reason and understanding; a sacrifice that ought to be made only to the divine authority, which is infinitely superiour to our reason and all our knowledge; and which, consequently, is authorized to prescribe laws to us, and speak in a voice that commands immediate compliance.

The school of Pythagoras bred a great number of illustrious disciples, who did infinite honour to their master; as wise legislators, great politicians, persons skilled in the whole round of science, men capable of being prime ministers, and of presiding over kingdoms *. A long time after his death, that part of Italy which he had cultivated and improved by his instructions, was still considered as the nursery and seat of men skilled in all kinds of literature, and maintained that glorious character during several centuries. The Romans certainly entertained a high opinion of Pythagoras's virtue and merit, since the oracle of Delphos having commanded that people, during the war of the Samnites, to erect two statues in the most conspicuous part of Rome; the one to the wisest, and the other to the most valiant among the Greeks, they accordingly set up two in the *Comitium*, representing Pythagoras and Themistocles. Historians are not exact with respect to the time and place of Pythagoras's death.

Plin. l. 34.
c. 6.

A. M.

3295.

Ant. J. C.

709.

Strab. l. 6.

p. 262.

& 269.

Dionys.

Halicarn.

Antiq.

Rom. l. 2.

p. 121.

2. CROTON. SYBARIS. THURIUM.

Croton was founded by Myscellus, chief of the Achæians, the third year of the xviith olympiad.

* Pythagoras tenuit magnam viguit Pythagoreorum nomen, illam Græciam cum honore, & ut nulli alii docti viderentur. *Quæst.* l. i. n. 38.

This

This Myscellus being come to Delphos to consult the oracle of Apollo, about the spot on which he should build his city, met Archias the Corinthian there, who was arrived upon the same account. The god gave him a favourable audience; and after having determined them with regard to the place that would best suit their new settlements, he proposed different advantages to them; and left them, among other particulars, the choice of riches or health. The offer of riches struck Archias, but Myscellus desired health; and, if history is to be credited, Apollo performed his promise faithfully to both. Archias founded Syracuse, which soon became the most opulent city of Greece. Myscellus laid the foundations of Croton, which became so famous for the long life and innate strength of its inhabitants, that its name was used proverbially, to signify a very healthy spot, whose air was extremely pure. The people of it signalized themselves in a great number of victories in the Grecian games; and Strabo relates, that in the same Olympiad, seven Crotoniensés were crowned in the Olympick games, and carried off all the prizes of the stadium.

Sybaris was ten leagues (two hundred furlongs) from Croton, and had also been founded by the Achaians, but before the other. This city became afterwards very powerful. There were subject to it, four neighbouring nations, and twenty-five cities; so that it was, alone, able to raise an army of three hundred thousand men. The opulence of Sybaris was soon followed by luxury, and such a dissoluteness as is scarcely credible. The citizens employed themselves in nothing but banquets, games, shows, parties of pleasure and carroufals. Publick rewards and marks of distinction were bestowed on those who gave the most magnificent entertainments; and even to such cooks as were best skilled in the important art of making new discoveries in the dressing of viands, and invented new

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

Κρότωνος
υγιεινότητος

Strab. 1. 6.
p. 263.
Athen.
1. 12. p. 518
— 520.

ARTAX. new refinements to tickle the palate. The Sybarites carried their delicacy and effeminacy to such a height, that they carefully removed from their city all such artificers whose work was noisy; and would not suffer any cocks in it, for fear lest their shrill, piercing crow should disturb their balmy slumbers.

A. M. All these evils were heightened by dissension and discord, which at last proved their ruin. Five hundred of the wealthiest in the city having been drove from it by the faction of one Telys, fled to Croton. **3474.** **Ant. J. C.** Telys demanded to have them surrendered to him; and, on the refusal of the Crotonienses to give them back, (they being prompted to this generous resolution by Pythagoras who then lived among them) war was declared. The Sybarites marched three hundred thousand men into the field, and the Crotonienses only an hundred thousand; but then they were headed by Milo, the famous champion, (of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak) over whose shoulders a lion's skin was thrown, and himself armed with a club, like another Hercules. The latter gained a compleat victory, and made a dreadful havock of those who fled, so that very few escaped, and their city was depopulated. About threescore years after, some Thessalians came and settled in it; however, they did not long enjoy peace, they being repulsed from it by the Crotonienses. Being thus reduced to the most fatal extremity, they implored the succour of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The latter, moved to compassion at their deplorable condition; after causing proclamation to be made in Peloponnesus, that all who were willing to assist that colony were at liberty to do it, sent the Sybarites a fleet of ten ships, under the command of Lampon and Xenocrates.

They built a city near the antient Sybaris, and called it Thurium. Two men, greatly renowned for their learning, the one an orator, and the other an historian, settled in this colony. The first was Lyfias, at that time but fifteen years of age. He lived in Thurium, till the ill fate which befel the Athenians in Sicily, and then went to Athens. The second was Herodotus. Though he was born in Halicarnassus, a city of Caria, he yet was considered as a native of Thurium, because he settled there with that colony. I shall speak more largely of him hereafter.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.
A. M.
3560.
Ap. J. C.
474.
Dionys.
Halicarn.
in vit.
Lys. p. 82.
Strab. l. 14.
p. 656.

Divisions soon broke out in the city, on occasion of the new inhabitants, whom the rest would exclude from all publick employments and privileges. But as these were much more numerous, they repulsed all the antient Sybarites, and got the sole possession of the city. Being supported by the alliance they made with the Crotoniensés, they soon grew vastly powerful; and having settled a popular form of government in their city, they divided the citizens into ten tribes, which they called by the names of the different nations whence they sprung.

3. CHARONDAS, the Legislator.

They now bent their whole thoughts to the strengthening of their government by wholesome laws, for which purpose they made choice of Charondas, who had been educated in Pythagoras's school, to digest and draw them up. I shall quote some of them in this place.

1. He excluded from the senate, and all publick posts, all such men as should marry a second wife, in case any children by their first wife were living; being persuaded, that any man who was so regardless

ARTAX.
LONGIM

less of his children's interest, would be equally so of his country's welfare, and be as worthless a magistrate as he had been a father.

2. He sentenced all informers to be carried through every part of the city crowned with heath or broom, as the vilest of men; an ignominy which most of them were not able to survive. The city, thus delivered from those pests of society, was restored to its former tranquillity. And indeed, * from informers generally arise all feuds and contests, whether of a publick or private nature; and yet, according to Tacitus's observation, they are too much tolerated in most governments.

3. He enacted a new kind of law against another species of pests, which, in a state generally first occasions a depravation of manners; by suffering all those to be prosecuted who should form a correspondence or contract a friendship, with wicked men, and by laying a heavy fine upon them.

4. He required all the children of the citizens to be educated in the Belles Lettres; these polishing and civilizing the minds of men, inspiring them with gentle manners; and prompting them to follow virtue; all which constitute the felicity of a government, and are equally necessary to citizens of all conditions. In this view, he appointed salaries (paid by the state) for masters and preceptors; in order that learning, by being communicated *gratis*, might be acquired by all. He considered ignorance as the greatest of evils, and the source whence all vices flowed.

5. He made a law with respect to orphans which appears judicious enough, by intrusting the care of their education to their relations, by the mother's side, as their lives would not be in danger from them; and the management of their estates

* Delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum, & po- nis quidem nunquam satis coer- citum. Tacit. Annal. l. 4. c. 30.

to their paternal relations, it being the interest of these to make the greatest advantage of them, since they would inherit them, in case of the demise of their wards. ARTAX.
LONGIM.

6. Instead of putting deserters to death, and those who quitted their ranks and fled in battle, he only sentenced them to make their appearance during three days, in the city, disguised in female apparel; he imagining, that the dread of so ignominious a punishment would produce the same effect as putting to death; and being, at the same time, desirous of giving such cowardly citizens an opportunity of atoning for their fault.

7. To prevent his laws from being too rashly or easily abrogated, he imposed a very severe and hazardous condition on all persons who should propose to alter or amend them in any manner. These were sentenced to appear in the publick assembly with a halter about their necks; and, in case the alteration proposed did not pass, they were to be immediately strangled. There were but three amendments ever proposed, and all of them were agreed to.

Charondas did not long survive his own laws. Returning one day from pursuing some thieves, and finding a tumult in the city, he came, armed, into the assembly, though he himself had prohibited this by an express law. A certain person objecting to him, in severe terms, that he violated his own laws, *I do not violate them*, says he, *but thus seal them with my blood*; saying which, he plunged his sword into his bosom, and expired.

ZALEUCUS, another Lawgiver.

At the same time, there arose among the Locri Dio1.1.12. another famous legislator, Zaleucus by name, who, P.79---85. as well as Charondas, had been Pythagoras's disciple. There is now scarce any thing extant of his,

ARTAX.
LONGIM.*their*

his, except a kind of preamble to his laws, which gives a most advantageous idea of them. He requires, above all things, of the citizens, to believe, and be firmly persuaded, that their are deities; and adds, that the bare turning up our eyes to the heavens, and contemplating their order and beauty, are sufficient to convince us, that it is impossible so wonderful a fabrick could have been formed by mere chance or human power. As the natural consequence of this belief, he exhorts men to honour and revere the gods, as the authors of whatever is good and just among mortals; and to honour them, not barely by sacrifices and splendid gifts, but by a sage conduct, and such manners as are of the purest and most chaste kind; these being infinitely more grateful to the immortals, than all the sacrifices that can be offered.

After this religious exordium, in which he exhibits the supreme being, as the source whence all laws flow, as the chief authority which commands obedience to them, as the most powerful motive to excite a compliance, and as the perfect model to which mankind ought to conform; he descends to the particulars of those duties which men owe to one another; and lays down a precept which is very well adapted to preserve peace and unity in society, by enjoining the individuals of it to not make their hatred and dissensions perpetual, since this would argue an unfociable and savage disposition; but to treat their enemies as men who would soon be their friends. This is carrying morality to as great a perfection as could be expected from heathens.

With regard to the duty of judges and magistrates, after representing to them, that, in pronouncing sentence, they ought never to suffer themselves to be byassed by friendship, hatred, or any other passion; he only exhorts them not to behave with the least haughtiness or severity towards the parties

parties engaged in law, since such are but too unhappy, in being obliged to undergo all the toils and fatigues which are inseparable from law-suits. The office indeed of judges, how laborious soever it may be, is far from giving them a right to use the contending parties with ill-nature. The very form and essence of their employment requiring them to behave with impartiality, and to do justice on all occasions; and when they distribute this even with mildness and humanity, it is only a debt they pay, and not a favour they indulge.

To banish luxury from his republick, which he looked upon as the certain destruction of a government, he did not follow the practice established in some nations, where it is thought sufficient, for the checking of it, to punish, by pecuniary mulcts such as infringe the laws made on that occasion. But he acted, says the historian, in a more artful and ingenious, and at the same time, more effectual manner. He prohibited women from wearing rich silks and brocades, embroidered robes, precious stones, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, gold rings, and such like ornaments; excepting none from this law but common prostitutes. He enacted a like law with regard to the men, and excepting, in the same manner, from the observance of it, such only as were willing to pass for debauchees and infamous wretches. By these regulations, he easily, and without violence, preserved the citizens from the least approaches to luxury and effeminacy *. For no person was so abandoned to all sense of honour, as to be willing to wear the badges of his shame, under the eye, as it were, of all the citizens; since this would make him the publick laughing-stock, and reflect eternal infamy on his family.

* More inter veteres recepto pudicas in ipsa professione flagitii qui satis poenarum adversus im- credebant. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 2. c. 85.

5. Milo the Champion.

We have seen him at the head of an army win a great victory. However, he was still more renowned for his athletick strength, than for his military bravery. He was surnamed *Crotonensis*, from Croton the place of his birth. It was his daughter, whom, as was before related, Democedes the famous physician, and Milo's countryman, married, after he had fled from Darius's court to Greece, his native country.

Lib. 6. Pausanias relates, that Milo, when but a child, p.369,370 was seven times victorious in one day at the Pythian games; that he won six victories (at wrestling) in the Olympick games, one of which was also gained in his childhood; and that challenging, a seventh time, (in Olympia) any person to wrestle with him, he could not engage, for want of an opponent. He would hold a pomgranate in such a manner, that, without breaking it, he would grasp it so fast in his hand, that no force could possibly wrest it from him. He would stand so firm on a * *Discus*, which had been oiled to make it the more slippery, that it was impossible to move him on those occasions. He would bind his head as with a diadem; after which, holding in strongly his breath, the veins of his head would swell so prodigiously as to break the rope. When Milo, fixing his elbow on his side, stretched forth his right hand quite open, with his fingers held close one to the other, his thumb excepted, which he raised; the utmost strength of man could not seperate his little finger from the other three.

But Milo, in these several exercises, only made a vain and puerile ostentation of his strength. Chance, however, gave him an opportunity of making a much more laudable use of it. One

Strab. l. 6.
p. 263.

* The *discus* was a kind of quoit, flat, and of an orbicular form.

day as he was attending the lectures of Pythagoras, (he being one of his most constant disciples) the pillar which supported the cieling of the school in which the pupils were assembled, being shaken by some accident, Milo supported it by his single strength; gave the auditors time to get away, and afterwards he himself escaped.

The particulars related of the voracious appetite of the Athletæ are almost incredible. Milo's Athen. appetite was scarce satiated with twenty minæ ^{l. 10.} (pounds) of meat; the same quantity of bread, ^{P. 412.} and three * *congi* of wine every day. Athenæus * *Thirty* relates, that this champion having run the whole ^{pounds, or} length of the stadium, with a bull of four years ^{fifteen} old on his shoulders; he afterwards knocked him ^{pints.} down with one stroke of his fist, and eat the whole beast that very day. I will take it for granted, that all the other particulars related of Milo are true; but is it probable, that one man could devour a whole ox in so short a time?

We are told that Milo, when advanced to a very great age, seeing the rest of the champions wrestling; and gazing upon his own arms which once were so vigorous and robust, but were then very much enfeebled by time, he burst into tears and cried, *Alas! these arms are now dead.* ^{Cic. de Senect. num. 27.}

And yet he either forgot or concealed his weakness from himself; the strong persuasion he entertained of his own strength, and which he preserved to the last, proving fatal to him. Happening to meet, as he was travelling, an old oak, which had been opened by some wedges that were forced into it, he undertook to split it in two by his bare strength. But, after forcing out the wedges, his arms were caught in the trunk of the tree, by the violence with which it closed; so that being unable to disengage his hands, he was devoured by wolves. ^{Paufan. l. 6. p. 370.}

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LONGIM.

Ælian.

1 2. C. 24.

An author has judiciously observed, that this surprizingly-robust champion, who prided himself so much in his bodily strength, was the weakest of men with regard to a passion, which often subdues and captivates the strongest; a courtesan having gained so great an ascendant over Milo, that she tyrannized over him in the most imperious manner, and made him obey whatever commands she laid upon him.

CHAPTER III.

The war of Peloponnesus.

A. M.

3573.

Ant. J. C.

431.

THE Peloponnesian war, which I am now entering upon, began about the end of the first year of the LXXXVIIth, and lasted twenty-seven years. Thucydides has writ the history of it to the 21st year inclusively. He gives us an accurate account of the several transactions of every year, which he divides into campaigns and winter-quarters. However, I shall not be so minute, and will only extract all such particulars as appear to me most entertaining and instructive. Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus will also be of great assistance to me on this occasion.

S E C T. I.

The siege of Plataeæ by the Thebans. Havock made in Attica and Peloponnesus. Honours paid to the deceased Athenians in the first campaign.

Thucyd.

L 2. p. 99

—122.

Diod. l. 12.

p. 97—

100.

Plut. in
Pericl.

p. 170.

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR.

THE first act of hostility by which the war began, was performed by the Thebans, who besieged Plataeæ, a city of Bœotia, and an ally

ally to Athens. They were brought into it by ^{ARTAX.} treachery; but the citizens falling upon them in ^{LONGIM.} the night, killed them, about two hundred excepted that were taken prisoners, and who, a little after were put to death. The Athenians, as soon as news was brought of the action at Plataeæ, sent succours and provisions thither; and cleared the city of all persons who were unable to bear arms.

The truce being evidently broke, both sides prepared openly for war; and ambassadors were sent to all places, to strengthen themselves by the alliance of the Greeks and Barbarians. Every part of Greece was in motion, some few nations and cities excepted, which continued neuter, till they should see the event of the war. The majority were for the Lacedæmonians, as being the deliverers of Greece; and espoused their interest very warmly, because the Athenians, forgetting that the moderation and gentleness with which they commanded over others, had procured them many allies; had afterwards alienated the greatest part of them by their pride and the severity of their government, and incurred the hatred, not only of those who were then subject to, but of all such as were apprehensive of, becoming their dependants. In this temper of mind were the Greeks at that time. Here follows a list of the confederates of each of those two nations.

All Peloponnesus, Argos excepted, which stood neuter, had declared for Lacedæmonia. The Achaïans, the inhabitants of Pellene excepted, had also joined them; but the latter also engaged insensibly in that war. Out of Peloponnesus, were the people of Megara, Locris, Bœotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Apsactorium.

The confederates of the Athenians were, the people of Chios, Lesbos, Plataeæ, the Messenii of Naupactus; the greatest part of the Acarnanians, Corcyrans, Cephalenians, and Zacynthians, besides

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the several tributary countries, as maritime Caria, Doria that lies near it, Ionia, the Hellespont; and the cities of Thrace, Chalcis, and Potidæa excepted; all the islands between Crete and Peloponnesus, eastward; and the Cyclades, Melos, and Thera excepted.

Immediately after the attempt made on Platæa, the Lacedæmonians had ordered forces to be levied both within and without Peloponnesus; and made all the preparations necessary for entering the enemy's country. All things being ready, two thirds of the troops marched to the Isthmus of Corinth, and the rest were left to guard the country. Then Archidamus king of Lacedæmonia, who commanded the army, assembled the generals and chief officers, when, calling up the remembrance of the great actions performed by their ancestors, and those they themselves had achieved, or been eye-witnesses to; he exhorted them to support with the utmost efforts of their valour, the pristine glory of their respective cities, as well as their own fame. He declared, that the eyes of all Greece were upon them; and that, in expectation of the issue of a war which would determine its fate, they were incessantly addressing heaven in favour of a people, who were as dear to them as the Athenians were become odious. That, however, he could not deny, but that they were going to march against an enemy, who though greatly inferior to them in numbers and in strength, were nevertheless very powerful, were inured to war, and daring; and whose courage would doubtless be still more inflamed by the sight of danger, and the wild havock they should make in their territories*. That therefore they must exert themselves to the utmost, to spread an immediate terror in the

* *Gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni. Tacit. Annal. l. 13. c. 31.*

country they were going to enter, and to add fresh vigour to the allies. The whole army answered in the loudest acclamations of joy, and assured their generals, that they would behave with the utmost bravery.

The assembly breaking up, Archidamus, still zealous for the welfare of Greece, and meditating how he might best prevent a rupture, the dreadful consequences of which he foresaw; sent a Spartan to Athens, to endeavour, before they should come to hostilities, to prevail, if possible, with the Athenians to lay aside their designs; since otherwise an army would soon march into Attica. But the Athenians, so far from admitting him to audience, or hearing his reasons, would not so much as suffer him to come into their city: Pericles having prevailed with the people to make an order, that no herald or ambassador should be received from the Lacedæmonians, till they had first laid down their arms. In consequence of this, the Spartan was commanded to leave the country that very day; and an escort was sent to guard him to the frontiers, and to prevent his speaking to any person by the way. At his taking leave of the Athenians, he told them, that from that day great calamities would ensue to all Greece. Archidamus, seeing no hopes of a reconciliation, marched for Attica, at the head of sixty thousand chosen forces.

Pericles, before the Lacedæmonians had entered this country, declared to the Athenians, that should Archidamus, when he was laying waste their territories, spare his (Pericles's) lands; either on account of the right of hospitality which subsisted between them, or to furnish his enemies and those who envied him, with a handle to slander him, as though he held a correspondence with him; he declared, that from that day he would make over all his lands and houses to the city of A-

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thens. He remonstrated to the Athenians, that it was their interest to consume the enemy's troops, by spinning out the war; and that for this purpose, they must immediately remove all their effects out of the country, retire to the city, and shut themselves up in it without ever hazarding a battle. The Athenians indeed, had not forces enough to take the field and oppose the enemy. Their troops, exclusive of those in garrison, amounted but to thirteen thousand soldiers heavily armed; and sixteen thousand inhabitants, including the young and old, the citizens as well as others, who were appointed to defend Athens; and besides these, twelve hundred troopers, comprehending the bowmen who rode on horseback, and sixteen hundred bowmen (foot.) This was the whole army of the Athenians. But their chief strength consisted in a fleet of three hundred galleys, part of which were ordered to lay waste the enemy's country, and the rest to awe the allies on whom contributions were levied, without which the Athenians could not defray the expences of the war.

The Athenians, animated by the strong exhortations of Pericles, brought from the country their wives, their children, their moveables, and all their effects, after which they pulled down their houses, and even carried off the timber of them. With regard to the cattle of all kinds, they conveyed them into the island of Eubœa and the neighbouring isles. However, they were deeply afflicted at this sad and precipitate migration, and it even forced tears from their eyes. Ever since the Persians had left their country, that is, for near fifty years, they had enjoyed the sweets of peace, wholly employed in the cultivating of their lands, and the feeding of their flocks. But now (sad fate of war!) they were obliged to abandon all these things. They took up their habitations in the city, as conveniently as they could, in the midst of
such

such confusion; retiring either to their relations or friends; and some withdrew even to the temples and other publick places.

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In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, being set out upon their march, entered the country, and encamped at CEnoe, which is the first strong-hold towards Bœotia. They employed a long time in preparing the attack, and raising the batteries; for which reason complaints were made against Archidamus, as though he had carried on the war indolently, because he had not approved of it. He was accused of being too slow in his marches; and of encamping too long near Corinth. He was likewise accused for having been too dilatory in raising the army, as though he was desirous of giving the Athenians an opportunity to carry off all their effects out of the country; whereas, (they said) had he marched speedily into it, every part might have been laid waste. His design, however, was, to engage the Athenians, by these delays, to agree to an accomodation; and to prevent a rupture, the consequences of which he foresaw would be pernicious to all Greece. Finding, after making several assaults, that it would be impossible for him to take the city, he raised the siege, and entered Attica in the midst of the harvest. After having laid waste the whole country, he advanced as far as Acharnæ, one of the greatest towns near Athens, and but fifteen hundred paces from the city. He there pitched his camp, in hopes that the Athenians, exasperated to see him advanced so near, would fallly out to defend their country, and give him an opportunity of fighting them.

It indeed was a great mortification to the Athenians, (they being of so haughty and imperious a temper) to be braved and insulted in this manner by an enemy, whom they did not think superior to themselves in courage. They were eye-witnesses to

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to the dreadful havock which was made of their lands, and saw all their houses and farms in a blaze. This sad spectacle was now so shocking, that they could not bear it any longer, and therefore cried aloud, that they must be led out against the Lacedæmonians be the consequence what it would. Pericles saw plainly, that the Athenians would thereby lay their all at stake, and expose their city to certain destruction, should they go and engage, under the walls of their city, an army of sixty thousand fighting men, and composed of the choicest troops at that time in Bœotia and Peloponnesus. Besides, he had made it his chief maxim, to spare the blood of the citizens, since that was an irreparable loss. Thus, pursuing constantly the plan he had laid down, and studious of nothing but how he might check the impatience and fire which raged in the bosoms of the Athenians, he was particularly careful not to assemble either the senate or the people; for fear lest they should form some fatal resolution, in spite of all the opposition he might make to it. His friends used all the intreaties imaginable, to bring them over to their desires. His enemies, on the other side, endeavoured to stagger him, by their menaces and slanderous discourses. They strove to rouse him by songs and satyrs, in which they aspersed him as a man of a cowardly, insensible cast of mind, who basely gave up his country to the sword of the enemy. But no man showed so much rancour against Pericles as * Cleon. He was the son of a currier, and also followed that trade. He had raised himself by faction, and probably by a species of merit which those must possess who would rise in popular governments. He had a thundering, and at the same time, a specious voice; and besides

* It is he whom Aristophanes has invetigbed so much against, in several of his comedies.

he possessed, in a wonderful manner, the art of ^{ARTAX. LONGIM.} gaining the people, and bringing them over to his interest. It was he who enacted a law, that three *oboli* (not two as before) should be given to each of the six thousand judges. The characteristicks which more immediately distinguished him were, an insupportably-vain opinion of his own abilities, a ridiculous persuasion of his uncommon merit; and a boldness of speech, which he carried to so high a pitch of insolence as to spare no man. ~~But~~ none of these things would move Pericles. ~~His~~ His great strength of mind raised him above low, vulgar clamours. Like unto a pilot in a raging storm, who after he has given out the proper orders, and taken all the precautions necessary, is then studious of nothing but how to make the best use of his art, without suffering himself to be moved by the tears or intreaties of those whom fear has distracted; Pericles, in like manner, after having put the city in a good posture of defence, and posted guards in all places to prevent a surprize; he then, I say, followed those counsels which his own prudence suggested; being quite regardless of the complaints, the taunts and licentious discourses of the citizens; from a firm persuasion, that he knew much better the art of government than they. ^{Plut. An. Seni. ger. fit. resp. p. 784.} It then appears evidently, says Plutarch, that Pericles was absolute master of the minds of the Athenians, since he prevailed so far (at such a juncture as this) † as to keep them from sallying out of the city, as if he had kept the keys of the city in his own possession; and fixed, on their arms, the seal of his authority, to forbid their making use of them. Things happened exactly as Pericles had foretold; for the enemy, finding the Athenians were determined not to stir out of their city, and

* *Spernendis rumoribus validus.* Tacit.

† *Διεύλυσε, μισθὸν τὰ ἐξέλκε*

τὸ δῆμον καὶ τὰς κλειῖς ἢ πολλῶν ἀποφραγισάμενος.

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having advice that the enemies fleet carried fire and sword into their territories ; they raised their camp, and, after making dreadful havock in the whole country, through which they marched, they returned to Peloponnesus, and each man went to his respective dwelling.

It might here be asked, why Pericles acted, on this occasion, in a quite different manner from what Themistocles had done about fifty years before, when, at Xerxes's approach, he made the Athenians march out of their city, and abandon it to the enemy. But a little reflexion will show, that the circumstances differed widely. Themistocles, being invaded by all the forces of the East, justly concluded that it would be impossible for him to withstand, in a single city, those millions of Barbarians who would have rushed upon it like a flood ; and would have lost him all hopes, of being succoured by his allies. This is the reason given by Cicero, *Fluſtum enim totius Barbariæ ferre urbs una non poterat*. It was therefore prudent in him to retire for some time, and to let the confused multitude of Barbarians consume and destroy one another. But Pericles was not engaged in so formidable and oppressive a war. The odds were not very great, and he foresaw it would allow him time to breathe. Thus, like a judicious man and an able politician, he kept close in Athens, and could not be moved either by the remonstrances or murmurs of the citizens. Cicero, writing to his friend Atticus, condemns absolutely the resolution which Pompey took, and put in execution, to abandon Rome to Cæsar ; whereas he ought, in imitation of Pericles, to have shut himself up in it with the senate, the magistrates, and the worthiest of the citizens who had declared in his favour.

Lib. 7.
Epist. 11.

After that the Lacedæmonians were retired, the Athenians put troops into all the important posts both by sea and land, pursuant to the plan they intended

intended to follow, so long as the war should last. ARTAX. LONGIM.
 They also came to a resolution, to keep always a Three mil-
 thousand talents in reserve, and an hundred gallies; lions.
 and to never make use of them, except the enemy
 should invade Attica by sea; and at the same time
 they made it death for any man to propose the
 employing them any other way.

The gallies which had been sent into Peloponnesus, made dreadful havock there, which consol'd the Athenians, in some measure, for the losses they had sustained. One day as the forces were going on board, and Pericles was entring his own ship, a sudden and total eclipse of the sun ensued, and the earth was overspread with the deepest gloom. This Phænomenon filled the minds of the Athenians with the utmost terror; superstition, and the ignorance of natural causes, making them consider such events as fatal omens. Pericles seeing the pilot who was on board his ship astonished, and incapable of managing the helm; threw his cloak over his face, and asked him whether he saw; the pilot, answering, that the cloak took away all objects from his sight; Pericles then gave him to understand, that a like cause, *viz.* the interposition of the vast body of the moon between his eyes and the sun, prevented his seeing its splendor.

The first year of the war of Peloponnesus being now elapsed, the Athenians, during the winter, solemnized publick funerals, according to antient custom, (a practice truly humane, and expressive of a just gratitude) in honour of those who had lost their lives in that campaign, a ceremony they observed during the whole course of that war. For this purpose they set up, three days before, a tent, in which were exhibited the bones of the deceased warriors; and every person strowed flowers, incense, perfumes, and such like, over those awful relicks. They afterwards were put on a kind of chariots, in coffins made of cypress wood, every Thucyd. l. 2. p. 122. — 130.
 tribe

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

† These are
called Ce-
notaphia.

tribe having its particular coffin and chariot; but in one of the latter a large empty † coffin was carried, in honour of those whose bodies had not been found. The procession marched with an awful, majestick and religious pomp; a great number of inhabitants, both citizens and foreigners, assisted at this mournful solemnity. The relations of the deceased officers and soldiers stood weeping at the sepulchre. These bones were carried to a publick monument, in the finest suburb of the city, called the Ceramicus; where were buried, in all ages, those who lost their lives in the field, except the warriors of Marathon, who, to immortalize their rare valour, were interred in the field of battle. Earth was afterwards laid over them, and then one of the citizens of the greatest distinction pronounced their funeral oration. Pericles was now appointed to exercise this honourable office. When the ceremony was ended, he went from the sepulchre to the *rostra*, in order to be the better heard, and spoke the oration, the whole of which Thucydides has transmitted to us. Whether it was really composed by Pericles, or by the historian, we may affirm that it is truly worthy the reputation of both those great men, as well for the noble simplicity of the stile, as for the just beauty of the thoughts, and the greatness of the sentiments which shine in every part of it. After having paid in so solemn a manner, this double tribute of tears and applauses, to the memory of those brave soldiers who had sacrificed their lives to defend the liberties of their country; the publick, who did not confine their gratitude to empty ceremonies and tears, maintained their widows, and all their infant orphans. This was a powerful * incentive to animate the courage of the citi-

Thucyd.
p. 130.

* Ἀδλὰς ᾧ οἱ καὶται ἀρετῆς μόνον, τοῖς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀμυνταί τοῖς οὐνοῖς.

zens ; for, wherever merit is best rewarded, there the greatest number of illustrious men arise.

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

About the close of the same campaign, the Athenians concluded an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Odryses in Thrace ; and, in consequence of this treaty, his son was admitted a citizen of Athens. They also made an accommodation with Perdiccas king of Macedonia, by restoring him the city of Thermæ ; after which they joined their forces, in order to carry on the war in Chalcis.

S E C T. II.

The plague makes dreadful havock in Attica. Pericles is divested of the command. The Lacedæmonians address the Persians for succour. Potidæa is taken by the Athenians. Pericles is restored to his employment. His death, and that of Anaxagoras.

SECOND AND THIRD YEARS OF THE WAR.

IN the beginning of the second campaign, the enemy made an incursion into the country as before, and laid it waste. But the plague made much greater devastation in Athens ; the like having never been known. It is related, that it began in Ethiopia, whence it descended into Egypt, from thence spread over Libya, and a great part of Persia ; and at last broke at once, like a flood, upon Athens. Thucydides, who himself was seized with that deadly disease, has described very minutely, the several circumstances and symptoms of it, in order, says he, that a faithful and exact relation of this calamity, may serve as an instruction to posterity, in case the like should ever happen. Hippocrates, who was employed to visit the sick, has also described it in a medical, and Lucretius, in a poetical way. This pestilence baffled the utmost efforts of art ; the most robust constitutions were

A. M.
3574.
Ant. J. C.
430.
Thucyd.
1.2. p. 130
—147.
Diod.
P. 101,
102.
Plut. in
mi-Pericl.
P. 174.
Epidem.
1. 3. §. 3.
Lib. 2.
c. 47.

unable

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

unable to withstand its attacks; and the greatest care and skill of the physicians were a feeble help to those who were infected. The instant a person was seized, he was struck with despair, which quite disabled him from attempting a cure. The assistance that was given them was ineffectual, and proved mortal to all such of their relations as had the courage to approach them. The prodigious quantity of baggage which had been removed out of the country into the city, proved very noxious. Most of the inhabitants, for want of lodging, lived in little cottages, in which they could scarce breathe, during the raging heat of the summer, so that, they were seen either piled one upon the other, (the dead, as well as those who were dying) or else crawling through the streets; or lying along by the side of fountains, to which they had dragged themselves, to quench the raging thirst which consumed them. The very temples were filled with dead bodies, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful image of death; without having the least remedy for the present, or the least hopes with regard to futurity.

Hippocrat
in Epist.

The plague, before it spread into Attica, had made wild havock in Persia. Artaxerxes, who had been informed of the mighty reputation of Hippocrates of Coos, the greatest physician of that or any other age; caused his governors to write to him, to invite him into his dominions, in order that he might prescribe to those who were infected. The king made him the most advantageous offers; promising him, with regard to a pecuniary recompence, that he should have what sums he might ask; and, with regard to honours, that he should be equalled with those of the highest distinction in his court. The reader has already been told, the prodigious regard which was shown to the Grecian physicians in Persia; and, indeed, was it possible that so useful

ful a man as Hippocrates could be too well rewarded? However, all the glitter of the Persian riches and dignities were not capable to corrupt him; nor stifle the hatred and aversion which the Greeks now entertained naturally for the Persians, ever since the latter had invaded them. This great physician therefore sent no other answer but this, that he was free from either wants or desires: that he owed all his cares to his fellow-citizens and countrymen; and was under no obligation to Barbarians, who were professed enemies to Greece. Kings are not used to denials. Artaxerxes, therefore, in the highest transports of rage, sent to the city of Coos, the native place of Hippocrates, and where he was at that time; commanding them to deliver up to him that insolent wretch, in order that he might be brought to condign punishment; and threatening, in case they refused, to lay waste their city and island in such a manner, that not the least footsteps of it should remain. However, the inhabitants of Coos were not under the least terror. They made answer, that the menaces of Darius and Xerxes had not been able to prevail with them to allow those monarchs either land or water, or to obey their orders; that Artaxerxes's threats would be equally impotent; that, let what would be the consequence, they would never give up their fellow-citizen; and that, they depended on the protection of the gods.

Hippocrates had said in one of his letters, that he owed himself entirely to his country. And indeed, the instant he was sent for to Athens, he went thither, and did not once stir out of the city till the plague was quite ceased. He devoted himself entirely to the service of the sick; and to multiply himself, as it were, he sent several of his disciples, in all parts of the country; after having compleatly taught them in what manner to treat their patients. The Athenians were struck with

ARTAX.
LONGIM.

the deepest sense of gratitude for this generous care of Hippocrates. They therefore ordained by a publick decree, that Hippocrates should be initiated in the most exalted mysteries, in the same manner as Hercules the son of Jupiter; that a crown of gold should be presented him, of the value of a thousand * stateres, amounting to five hundred pistoles French money; and that the decree by which it was granted him, should be read aloud by a herald in the publick games, on the solemn festival of Panathenæa: That the freedom of the city should be given him, and himself be maintained, at the publick charge, in the Prytæum, all his life-time, in case he thought proper: In fine, that the children of all the people of Coos, whose city had given birth to so great a man, might be maintained and brought up in Athens, in the same manner as if they had been born there.

In the mean time, the enemy having marched into Attica, came down towards the coast, and advancing still forward, laid waste the whole country. Pericles still adhering to the maxim he had established, not to expose the safety of the state to the hazard of a battle, would not suffer his troops to sally out of the city: however, before the enemy left the plains, he sailed to Peloponnesus with an hundred gallies, in order to hasten their retreat by his making so powerful a diversion; and after having made a dreadful havock, (as he had done the first year) he returned into the city. The plague was still there as well as in the fleet; and it spread to those troops that were besieging Potidæa.

The campaign being thus ended, the Athenians, who saw their country depopulated by two great scourges, war and a pestilence, began to despond, and to murmur against Pericles; they considering him as the author of all their calamities, as he had

* The attick stater was a gold coin weighing two drachm. It is in the original χρυσῶν χαλκῶν.

involved them in that fatal war. They then sent a deputation to Lacedæmonia, to obtain, if possible, an accommodation by some means or other, firmly resolved to make whatever concessions should be demanded of them: however, the ambassadors returned back without being gratified in any one of their demands. But now complaints and murmurs broke out afresh; and the whole city was in such a trouble and confusion, as seemed to prognosticate the worst of evils. Pericles, in the midst of this universal consternation, could not forbear assembling the people; and he endeavoured to soften, and at the same time to raise their courage, by justifying himself. “The reasons,” says he, “which determined you to undertake this war, and which you approved at that time, are still the same; and are not changed by the alteration of circumstances, which neither you nor my self could foresee. Had it been left to your option to make choice of peace or war, the former would certainly have been more eligible: but as there is no other way for you to preserve your liberty, but by drawing the sword, was it possible for you to hesitate? If we are citizens who truly love our country, will our private misfortunes make us neglect the common welfare of the state? Every man feels the evil which afflicts him, because it is present; but no one is sensible of the good which will result from it, because it is not come. Have you obliterated the remembrance of the strength and grandeur of your empire? Of the two parts which form this globe of ours, viz. the land and sea, you have absolute possession of the latter; and no king, or any other power, is able to oppose your fleets. It is now your duty to preserve this glory and this empire, or to resign it for ever. Be not therefore grieved because you are deprived of a few country-seats

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“ and gardens ; which ought to be considered no
 “ otherwise than as the frame of the picture, tho’
 “ you would seem to make them the picture it-
 “ self. Consider, that if you do but preserve
 “ your liberty, you will easily recover them ; but
 “ that should you suffer your selves to be de-
 “ prived of this blessing, you will lose every va-
 “ luable possession with it. Don’t show less ge-
 “ nerosity than your ancestors, who, for the sake
 “ of preserving it, abandoned even their city ;
 “ and who, though they had inherited such a
 “ glory from their ancestors, they yet suffered the
 “ worst of evils, and engaged in the most perilous
 “ enterprizes, to transmit it to you. I will con-
 “ fess that your present calamities are exceedingly
 “ grievous, and I my self am duly sensible and
 “ deeply afflicted for them. But is it just in you
 “ to exclaim against your general, merely for an
 “ accident that was not to be diverted by all the
 “ prudence of man ; and to make him responsi-
 “ ble for an event, in which he has not the least
 “ concern ? We must submit patiently to those
 “ evils with which heaven inflicts us, and vigo-
 “ rously oppose such as arise from our fellow-
 “ creatures. As to the hatred and jealousy which
 “ attend on your prosperity, this is the usual lot
 “ of all who believed themselves worthy of com-
 “ manding over others. However, hatred and envy
 “ are not long liv’d, but the glory that accom-
 “ panies exalted actions is immortal. Revolve
 “ therefore perpetually in your minds, how shame-
 “ ful and ignominious it is for men to bow the
 “ neck to their enemies, and how glorious it is to
 “ triumph over them ; and then, animated by
 “ this double reflexion, march on to danger with
 “ joy and intrepidity, and do not crouch so
 “ tamely to the Lacedæmonians, since it will be
 “ to no purpose ; and call to mind, that those
 “ who display the greatest bravery and resolution
 “ in

“ in dangers, are for ever most esteemed and ap-
 “ plauded.”

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The remembrance of the honour and glory, and the great actions which had been atchieved by their ancestors ; the soothing title of sovereigns of Greece, and above all, the jealousy of Sparta, the antient and perpetual rival of Athens, were the usual motives which Pericles employed, to move and rouse the courage of the Athenians, and he hitherto had been successful this way. But on this occasion, the sense of the present evils prevailed over every other consideration, and stifled all thoughts which did not immediately relate to them. The Athenians indeed did not design to sue any more to the Lacedæmonians for peace ; but the bare sight and presence of Pericles was insupportable to them. They therefore removed him from the supreme command ; and sentenced him to pay a fine, which, according to some historians, amounted to fifteen talents, and, according to others, *Fifteen or fifty thousand* *and French crowns.*

However, this publick disgrace of Pericles was not to be very lasting. The anger of the people was appeased by this first effort, and quite spent by their injurious treatment of him, in like manner as the bee leaves its sting in the wound. But he was not now so happy with regard to his domestick evils ; for, besides his having lost a great number of his friends and relations by the pestilence, feuds and divisions had long reigned in his family. Xanthippus, his eldest son, who himself was extremely profuse, and had married a young wife who was no less extravagant, could not bear his father's exact œconomy ; he allowing him but a very small sum for his pleasures. This made him borrow money in his father's name. When the lender waited upon Pericles for the debt, he not only refused to pay, but even prosecuted him for it. Xanthippus was so enraged, that he inveighed

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in the most heinous terms against his father ; exclaiming against him in all places, and ridiculing openly the assemblies he held at his house, and his conferences with the Sophists. He did not know that a son, though he should meet with unjust treatment, (which was far otherwise here) ought to submit patiently to the injustice of his father, in like manner as a citizen is obliged to suffer that of his country.

The plague carried off Xanthippus. At the same time Pericles lost his sister, together with many of his relations and best friends, whose assistance he most wanted in the administration. But he did not sink under these losses ; his strength of mind was not shaken by them ; and he was not seen to weep or show the usual marks of sorrow at the grave of any of his relations, till the death of Paralus, the last of his legitimate children. But now, tortured and agitated inwardly by this violent shock, he did his utmost to preserve his usual tranquillity, and not show any outward symptoms of sorrow. But, going to fix the chaplet of flowers on his dead son's head ; he could not support the cruel spectacle, nor stifle the transports of his grief, which at last forc'd its way in cries, in sobs, and a flood of tears.

Pericles, seduced by the principles of a false philosophy, imagined, that the bewailing the death of his relations and children, would betray a weakness, that no way suited the greatness of soul he had ever discovered ; and that on this occasion, his sensibility as a father, would tarnish his glory as a conquerour. A vain error, a childish illusion, which either makes heroism to consist in a wild and savage cruelty ; or else, leaving the same grief and confusion in the mind, makes a vain parade of constancy and resolution, merely to be gazed at. But does martial bravery obliterate and suppress all the impulses of nature ? Is a man dead to all sensations,

sations, because he makes a considerable figure in the state? Antoninus the emperor had a much more humane way of thinking, when, on occasion of Marcus Aurelius, who bewailed the death of him who had brought him up, he said; * *Suffer him to be a man, for neither philosophy, nor the regal dignity, make a man insensible?*

Fickleness and inconstancy were the chief characteristics of the Athenians; and as these carried them on a sudden to the greatest excesses, it soon reduced them within the bounds of moderation and gentleness. It was not long before they repented of the injury they had done to Pericles, and earnestly wished to see him again in their assemblies. This people, by dint of suffering, began to bear patiently their domestick misfortunes, and to be fired more and more with a zeal for their country's glory; and they did not know any person, more capable than Pericles, of restoring it to its former splendor, which they longed so earnestly to see. Pericles, at that time, never stirred out of his house, he being oppressed with grief for the loss he had sustained. However, Alcibiades, and the rest of his friends, intreated him to go abroad, and show himself in publick. But now the people begged his pardon for their using him so ungratefully; when Pericles, moved with their entreaties, and, firmly persuaded that it did not become a good man to harbour the least resentment against his country, he resumed the administration of affairs.

About the end of the second campaign, some ambassadors had set out from Lacedæmonia, in order to sue for the king of Persia's alliance, and engage him to furnish a sum of money for maintaining the fleet: this reflected great ignominy on

* Permite illi ut homo sit: imperium tollit affectus. *Jul. neque enim vel philosophia vel Capitol. in vit. Antonini Pii.*

ARTAX. the Lacedæmonians, who called themselves the de-
LONGIM. liverers of Greece, since they thereby retracted or
 sullied the glorious actions they had formerly at-
 chieved in favour of that country against Persia !
 They went by the way of Thrace, in order to dis-
 engage, if possible, Sitalces from the alliance of
 the Athenians, and prevail with him to succour
 Potidæa. But they here met with some Atheni-
 an ambassadors, who caused them to be arrested as
 disturbers of the publick peace, and afterwards to
 be sent to Athens, where, without suffering them to
 be heard, they were put to death the same day ; and
 their bodies thrown in the fields, by way of reprisal
 on the Lacedæmonians, who treated all who were
 not of their party in the same inhuman manner.
 It is scarce possible to conceive how two cities,
 which, a little before, were so strongly united,
 and ought to have showed a mutual civility and
 forbearance to one another ; could foster such an
 inveterate hatred, and break into such cruel acts
 of violence, as infringe all the laws of war, of
 humanity, and of nations ; and which prompted
 them to exercise greater cruelties upon one another,
 than if they had been fighting against Barbarians.

Potidæa had now been besieging almost three years ;
 when, the inhabitants, reduced to extremities, and
 being in such want of provisions, that some fed
 on human flesh ; and not expecting any succours
 from the Peloponnesians, whose attempts in Attica
 had all proved abortive, surrendered on certain condi-
 tions. The circumstances which made the Atheni-
 ans treat them with lenity, were, the severity of
 the weather, which exceedingly annoyed the be-
 siegers ; and, the prodigious expence of the siege,
 which had already cost * two thousand talents.

*Six mil-
 lions.*

* *The army which besieged Po-
 tidæa consisted of three thousand
 men, exclusive of the sixteen hun-
 dred who had been sent under the
 command of Phormio. Every sol-*

*dier received (daily) two drachms
 or twenty pence (French) for master
 and man ; and those of the gallees
 had the same stipend. Thucyd.
 l. 3. p. 182.*

They

They therefore came out of the city with their ^{ARTAX.} wives and children, as well citizens as foreigners, ^{LONGIM.} with each but one suit of cloaths, and the women two ; and only a little money to carry them home. The Athenians blamed their generals for granting this capitulation without their order ; because otherwise, as the citizens were reduced to the utmost extremities, they would have surrendred at discretion. They sent a colony thither.

The first thing Pericles did, after his being re-^{A. M.} elected generalissimo, was, to propose the abro-^{3575.} gating of that law, which he himself had caused to ^{Ant. J. C.} be enacted against bastards, when there were legi-^{429.} timate children. It declared, that such only should be considered as true and legitimate Athenians, whose fathers and mothers were both natives of Athens ; and it had been executed just before with the utmost rigour. * For the king of Egypt having sent to Athens a present of forty thousand measures of corn to be distributed among the people ; the bastards, on account of this new law, were involved in a thousand difficulties, till then unpractised, and which had not been so much as thought of. Near five thousand of them were condemned, and sold as slaves ; whilst fourteen thousand and forty citizens were confirmed in their privileges, and recognized as true Athenians. It was thought very strange, that the author and promoter of this law should himself desire to have it repealed. But the Athenians were moved to compassion at the domestick calamities of Pericles ; so that they permitted him to enter his bastard, in his own name, in the register of the citizens of his tribe.

* Plutarch does not name this king. Perhaps it was Inarus, son to Psameticbus, king of Lybia, who had caused part of the Egyptians to take up arms against Ar- taxerxes, and to whom the Athenians above thirty years before, had sent succours against the Persians. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 68.

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A little after he himself was infected with the pestilence. Being extremely ill, and ready to breathe his last, the principal citizens, and such of his friends as had not forsaken him; discoursing together in his bed-chamber about his rare merit, they ran over his exploits, and computed the number of his victories; for, whilst he was generalissimo of the Athenians, he had raised in honour of their city, nine trophies, as a memorial of that number of battles won by him. They did not imagine that Pericles heard what they were saying, because he seemed to have lost his senses; but it was far otherwise, for not a single word of their discourse had escaped him; when, breaking suddenly from his silence; "I am surprized, says he, "that you should treasure up so well in your memories, and extol so highly a series of actions, "in which fortune had so great a share, and which "are common to me, with so many other generals; and at the same time should forget the "most glorious circumstance in my life; I mean, "my never having caused a single citizen to put on "mourning." Excellent words! which very few in high stations can declare with truth. The Athenians were deeply afflicted at his death.

The reader has doubtless observed, from what has been said of Pericles, that in him were united most qualities which constitute the great man; as those of the admiral, by his great skill in naval affairs; of the great captain, by his conquests and victories; of the high-treasurer, by the excellent order in which he put the finances; of the great politician, by the extent and justness of his views, by his eloquence in publick deliberations, and by the dexterity and address with which he transacted affairs; of a minister of state, by the methods he employed to increase trade and promote the arts in general. In fine, of father of his country, by the happiness he procured to every individual,

and

and which he always had in view, as the true scope and end of his administration. ARTAX.
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But I must not omit another characteristick which was peculiar to him. He conducted himself with so much wisdom, moderation, disinterestedness, and zeal for the publick welfare; he discovered, in all things, so great a superiority of talents, and gave so exalted an idea of his experience, capacity, and integrity, that he won the confidence of all the Athenians; and fixed (in his own favour) during forty years that he presided over the Athenians, the fickleness and inconstancy which was natural to them. He suppressed that jealousy, which an extreme fondness for liberty had made them entertain against all such citizens as were distinguished by their merit and great authority. But the most surprizing circumstance, is, he gained this great ascendant merely by the gentle methods of persuasion, without employing force, mean artifices, or any of those arts which a vulgar politician excuses in himself, upon the specious pretence, that the ill state of the publick affairs, and the interest of his country made them necessary.

Anaxagoras died the same year as Pericles. Plut. in
Pericl.
p. 162. Plutarch relates an incident concerning him, that happened some time before, which must not be omitted. He says, that this philosopher, who had voluntarily reduced himself to the extremes of poverty, in order that he might have the greater leisure to pursue his studies; finding himself neglected, in his old age, by Pericles, who, oppressed with the affairs of government, had not always time to think of him; * wrapped his cloak about his head, and threw himself on the ground, in the fixed resolution to starve himself. Pericles, hearing of this accidentally, ran with the swiftest speed

* It was the custom for men to when they were reduced to despair, wrap themselves in their cloaks, and resolved to die.

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to the philosopher's house, in the deepest affliction. He there conjured him, in the strongest and most moving terms, not to throw his life away; adding, that it was not Anaxagoras he bewailed, but himself, for fear should he be so unfortunate as to lose so wise and faithful a friend; one who was so capable of giving him wholesome counsels, with regard to the pressing wants of the state. Then Anaxagoras, uncovering a little his head, spoke thus to him: *Pericles, those who use a lamp take care to feed it with oil.* This was a gentle, and at the same time a strong and piercing reproach. Pericles ought to have supplied his wants unasked. Many lamps are extinguished in this manner in a country, by the criminal negligence of those who ought to supply them.

SECT. III.

The Lacedæmonians besiege Platææ. Mitylene is taken by the Athenians. Platææ surrendred. The plague breaks out again in Athens.

FOURTH AND FIFTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

A. M.
3576.

Ant. J. C.
428.

Thucyd.

l. 2. p. 147

—151.

Diod. l. 22.

p. 102—

109.

THE most memorable transaction of the following years, was, the siege of Platææ by the Lacedæmonians. This was one of the most famous sieges in antiquity, on account of the vigorous efforts of both parties; but especially for the glorious resistance made by the besieged, and their bold and industrious stratagem, by which several of them got out of the city, and by that means escaped the fury of the enemy. The Lacedæmonians set about this siege in the beginning of the third campaign. As soon as they had pitched their camp round the city, in order to lay waste the places adjacent to it; the Platæans sent some deputies to Archidamus, who commanded on that occasion, to represent, that he could not attack them

them with the least shadow of justice, because that, ARTAX-
LONGIM. after the famous battle of Platææ, Pausanias the Grecian general, offering up a sacrifice in their city to Jupiter the deliverer, in presence of all the allies, had given them their freedom to reward their valour and zeal; and therefore, that they ought not to be disturbed in the enjoyment of their liberties, since it had been granted them by a Lacedæmonian. Archidamus answered, that their demand would be very reasonable, had they not joined with the Athenians, the professed enemies to the liberty of Greece; but that, if they would disengage themselves from their present alliance, or at least remain neuter, they then should be left in the full enjoyment of their privileges. The deputies replied, that they could not possibly come to any agreement, without first sending to Athens, whither their wives and children were retired. The Lacedæmonians permitted them to send thither; when the Athenians promising solemnly to succour them to the utmost of their power, the Platæans resolved to suffer the extremes of misery rather than surrender; and accordingly they informed the Lacedæmonians, from their walls, that they could not comply with what was desired.

Then Archidamus, after calling upon the gods to witness, that he did not first infringe the alliance; and was not the cause of all the calamities which might befall the Platæans, for having refused the just and reasonable conditions which were offered them, prepared for the siege. He surrounded the city with a circumvallation of trees, which were laid long-ways, very close together, with their boughs interwoven, and turned towards the city, to prevent any person from going out of it. He afterwards threw up a platform to set the batteries on, in the hopes that, as so many hands were employed, they should soon take the city. He therefore caused trees to be felled on
mount

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mount Cithæron, and intervove them with fascines, in order to support the terrass on all sides; he then threw into it wood, earth, and stones; in a word, whatever could help to fill it up. The whole army worked night and day, without the least intermission, during seventy days; one half of the soldiers reposing themselves, whilst the rest were at work.

The besieged observing that the work began to rise, they threw up a wooden wall over the walls of the city opposite to the platform, in order that they might always out-top the besiegers; and filled the hollow of this wooden wall, with the bricks they took from the rubbish of the neighbouring houses; so that the pieces of timber served as a defence to keep the wall from falling, as it was carrying up. It was covered, on the outside, with hides both raw and dry, in order to shelter the works and the workmen from the fires that were hurled. In proportion as it rose, the platform was raised also, which in this manner was carried to a great height. But the besieged made a hole in the opposite wall, in order to carry off the earth that sustained the platform; which the besiegers perceiving, they put rush baskets filled with mortar, in the place of the earth which had been removed, because these could not be so easily carried off. The besieged therefore, finding their first stratagem defeated, made a mine under ground as far as the platform, in order to shelter themselves, and to remove from it the earth and other materials of which it was composed, and which they gave from hand to hand, as far as the city. The besiegers were a considerable time without seeing one another, till at last they perceived that their work did not go forward, and that the more earth they laid on, the weaker it grew. But the besieged, judging that it would at last be quite carried off by the superiority

superiority of numbers ; without amusing themselves any longer at this work, or carrying the wall higher on the side towards the battery ; contented themselves with building another, within, in the form of a half-moon, both ends of which joined to the wall ; in order that the besieged might retire behind it when the first wall should be forced ; and so oblige the enemy to make fresh works.

In the mean time the besiegers having set up their machines (doubtless after they had filled up the ditch, though Thucydides does not say this) shook the city wall in a very terrible manner, which, though it alarmed the citizens very much, it yet did not dishearten them. They employed every art that fortification could suggest against the enemies batteries. They deadened the efforts of the battering rams, by * ropes which carried off whatever was shot from them. They also employed another artifice ; fastning the two ends of a great beam with long iron chains, that were fixed both ways to two large pieces of timber, which spread sideways, and leaned against the wall ; so that whenever the enemy played their machine, the besieged lifted up this beam, and let it fall back on the point of the battering ram, which quite deadened its force, and consequently made it of no effect.

The besiegers finding the attack did not go on successfully, and that a new wall was raised against their platform, despaired of being able to storm the town, and therefore changed the siege into a blockade. However, they first endeavoured to set fire to it, imagining that the town might easily be burnt down, as it was so small, whenever

* The end, (downward) of these ropes formed a variety of slip-knots, with which they caught the head of the battering-ram, which they lifted upwards by the help of the machine.

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a strong wind should rise; for they employed all the artifices imaginable, to make themselves master of the town as soon as possible, and with little expence. They therefore threw fascines into the intervals between the walls of the city and the intrenchment with which they had surrounded them; and filled these intervals in a very little time, because of the multitude of hands employed by them: in order to set fire, at the same time, to different parts of the city. They then lighted the fire with pitch and sulphur, which in a moment made such a prodigious blaze that the like was never seen. This invention had like to have won the city, which had baffled all the rest: For the besieged could not get to several parts of the town; and had the weather favoured the besiegers, as they flattered themselves it would, it had certainly been taken: But history informs us, that an exceeding heavy rain fell, which immediately extinguished the fire.

This last effort of the besiegers having been defeated as successfully as all the rest, they now turned the siege into a blockade, and surrounded the city with a brick wall, within and without of which was a deep ditch. The whole army was engaged successively in this work, and when it was finished, they left a guard over half of it; the Boeotians offering to guard the rest, upon which the Lacedæmonians returned to Sparta, about the month of October. There were now, in Platææ, but four hundred inhabitants, and fourscore Athenians; with an hundred and ten women to dress their victuals, and no other person, whether freeman or slave; all the rest having been sent to Athens before the siege.

During the campaign, some engagements were fought both by sea and land, which I omit, because they are not considerable enough.

The next summer, which was the fourth year of ARTAX. the war, the people of Lesbos, the citizens of LONGIM. Methymne excepted, resolved to break from their Thucyd alliance with the Athenians. They had designed 1.3. p. 174. to rebel before the war was declared, but the La- 207. Diod. 1. 12. cedæmonians would not admit them at that time. p. 108, The citizens of Methymne sent advice of this to 109. the Athenians, assuring them, that if an immediate succour was not sent, the island would be inevitably lost. The affliction of the Athenians, who had sustained great losses by the war and the pestilence, was greatly increased, when news was brought of the revolt of so considerable an island, whose forces, which were quite fresh, would now join the enemy, and strengthen them on a sudden by the addition of a powerful fleet. The Athenians therefore, sent forty gallies designed for Floponnesus, which accordingly sailed for Mitylene. The inhabitants, though in great consternation because they were quite unprepared, they nevertheless assumed a specious appearance of bravery, and accordingly sailed their fleet out of the harbour; however, being repulsed, they proposed an accommodation; and this the Athenians listened to, from an apprehension, that they were not strong enough to reduce the island to their allegiance. A suspension of arms was therefore agreed upon, during which the Mityleneans sent ambassadors to Athens. The fear they were under, lest the Athenians should refuse to gratify their demands, made them send others to Lacedæmonia, to desire succours. This was not ill judged, the Athenians sending them such an answer as was no ways favourable.

The ambassadors of Mitylene, who were exposed to great danger in their voyage, being arrived in Lacedæmonia; the Spartans deferred giving them audience, till the solemnization of the Olympic games, in order that the allies might hear

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the complaints they had to make. I will copy the whole harangue they spoke on that occasion, as it may serve at one and the same time, to give a just idea of Thucydides's stile, and how the several nations were disposed with regard to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. " We are sensible," said the ambassadors, that it is the custom to use deserters well at first, because of the service they do those whom they fly to; but to despise them afterwards, as traitors to their country and friends. This is far from being unjust, when they have no real cause to abandon their party; when the same union subsists, and the same succour is reciprocally indulged as before. But it is far otherwise with us and the Athenians; and we entreat you not to be prejudiced against this step we have taken, because we, after having been treated mildly by the Athenians during the peace, now break from their alliance when they are unfortunate. For, appearing here to desire to be received as your friends and allies, we ought to begin our own justification, by showing the justice and necessity of our procedure; it being impossible for a true friendship to be established between individuals, or a solid alliance between cities, unless both are founded on virtue, and a similitude of principles and sentiments.

" To come to the point: the treaty we concluded with the Athenians, was not to enslave Greece, but to free it from the yoke of the Barbarians; and it was concluded after the retreat of the Persians, when you laid down the command. We adhered to it with pleasure, so long as the Athenians continued to entertain just designs, but, when we saw that they discontinued the war they were carrying on against the enemy, merely to oppress the allies, we could not but suspect their conduct. And, as it was ex-

" tremely

tremely difficult, in so great a diversity of interests and opinions, for all of them to continue closely united; and still harder to make head against them, when alone and separated; they have subjected, by insensible degrees, all the allies, except the inhabitants of Chios, and our people; and subjected them by our forces. For, at the same time that they left us seemingly at our liberty, they obliged us to follow them; though we could no longer rely on their words, and had the strongest reason to fear the like treatment. And indeed, what probability is there, after their enslaving all other nations, that they should show a regard to us only, and admit us upon the foot of equals, if they may become our masters whenever they please; especially as their power rises daily, in proportion as ours lessens? A mutual fear between confederates, is a strong motive to make an alliance lasting, and to prevent unjust and violent attempts, by its keeping all things in an equilibrium. Their leaving us the enjoyment of our liberties, was, merely because they could not intrench upon them by open force, but only by that equity and specious moderation they have shown us. First, they pretended to prove by their tender usage to us, that, as we are free, we should not have marched in conjunction with them against the other allies, had they not given them just grounds for complaints. Secondly, by attacking the weakest first, and subduing them one after another; they enabled themselves, by crushing these, to oppress the mightiest, who at last would be left single and unsupported: whereas, had they begun by invading us, at the time that the allies were possessed of all their troops, and were able to make a powerful alliance, they could not so easily have compleat-

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“ ed their designs. Besides, as we had a large
“ fleet, which would strengthen considerably
“ whatever party we should declare for, this was
“ a check upon them. Add to this, that the
“ high regard we have always shown for their re-
“ publick, and the endeavours we have used to
“ gain the favour of those who commanded in it,
“ have kept off our ruin. But we had been un-
“ done, had not this war broke out ; a circum-
“ stance which, the fate that others have met
“ with, will not suffer us to doubt.

“ What friendship then, what lasting alliance
“ can be concluded with those who never are
“ friends and allies but when force is employed
“ to make them continue such ? For, as they
“ were obliged to careſs us during the war, to
“ prevent our joining with the enemy ; we were
“ constrained to treat them with the same re-
“ gard in time of peace, to prevent their falling
“ upon us. That which love produces in other
“ places, was with us the effect of fear. It was
“ this circumstance that made an alliance to sub-
“ sist for some time, which both parties were de-
“ termined to break the first occasion that should
“ offer it self : Let therefore no one accuse us for
“ the advantage we now take. We had not al-
“ ways the same opportunity to save, as they had
“ to ruin us : but were under a necessity of watch-
“ ing for one, before we could venture to declare
“ our selves.

“ Such are the motives which now oblige us
“ to seek for your alliance : Motives, the equity
“ and justice whereof appear very strong to us,
“ and consequently call upon us to provide for
“ our safety : We should have claimed your pro-
“ tection before, had you been sooner inclined to
“ indulge us it ; for, we offered ourselves to you,
“ even before the war broke out : we are now
“ come, at the persuaſion of the Bœotians your
“ allies, to disengage ourselves from the oppres-

“ ſors

“ fors of Greece, and join our arms to the defen-
 “ ders of it; and to provide for the security of
 “ our state, which is now in imminent danger.
 “ If any thing can be objected to our conduct, it
 “ is, our declaring so precipitately, with more ge-
 “ nerosity than prudence, and without our hav-
 “ ing made the least preparations. But this also
 “ ought to engage you to be the speedier in suc-
 “ couring us; that you may not lose the oppor-
 “ tunity of protecting the oppressed, and taking
 “ vengeance on your enemies. There never was
 “ a more favourable season than that which now
 “ offers itself; a season, when war and pestilence
 “ have consumed their forces, and drained their
 “ treasury: not to mention that their fleet is di-
 “ vided; by which means they will not be in a
 “ condition to resist you, should you invade them
 “ at the same time by sea and land. For, they
 “ either will leave us to go and attack you, and
 “ so give us an opportunity of succouring you;
 “ or otherwise, they will oppose us altogether, and
 “ then you will have but half of their forces to
 “ engage with.

“ By the way, let no one imagine, that you
 “ will expose your selves to dangers for a people
 “ incapable of doing you service. Our country
 “ indeed lies at a considerable distance from you,
 “ but our succour is near at hand. For the war
 “ will be carried on, not in Attica, as is suppo-
 “ sed, but in that country whose revenues are the
 “ support of Attica, and we are not far from it.
 “ Consider also, that in abandoning us, you will
 “ increase the power of the Athenians by the ad-
 “ dition of ours; and that no nation will then
 “ dare to take up arms against them. But in
 “ succouring us, you will strengthen yourselves
 “ with a fleet which you so much want; you will
 “ excite many nations, after our example, to join
 “ you; and you will take off the reproach which

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“ is cast upon you, *viz.* of abandoning those who
“ crave your protection, which will be no incon-
“ siderable advantage to you during the course
“ of the war.

“ We therefore implore you, in the name of
“ the Olympick Jupiter, in whose temple we
“ now stand, not to defeat the hopes of the
“ Greeks, nor reject a supplicating people, whose
“ preservation may be of great advantage, as
“ their ruin may be of infinite ill consequence to
“ you. Show your selves such here, as both the
“ idea that is entertained of your generosity, and
“ the extreme danger to which we are reduced,
“ may demand ; that is, the protectors of the
“ afflicted, and the deliverers of Greece.”

The allies, struck with these reasons, admitted them into the alliance of Peloponnesus. Immediately it was resolved, that they should make an incursion with the utmost speed, into the enemy's country ; and that the allies should rendezvous at Corinth with two thirds of their forces. The Lacedæmonians came first, and there prepared engines for transporting the ships from the gulf of Corinth into the sea of Athens, in order to invade Attica both by sea and land. The people in question were very ardent ; but the allies, being employed in their harvest, and beginning to grow tired of the war, were a long time before they met.

During this interval, the Athenians, who perceived that all these preparations were made against them, from a supposition that they were very weak ; to undeceive the world, and show that they alone were able to equip and maintain a fleet, unassisted by that of Lesbos ; put to sea a fleet of an hundred sail, which they manned with citizens as well as foreigners ; not exempting a single citizen, such only as were obliged to serve on horseback, or whose revenue amounted to five hundred measures of corn. Being arrived off of the Isthmus
of

of Corinth, in order to make an ostentatious show of their power, they made a descent into whatever parts of Peloponnesus they pleased. ARTAX.
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The world never saw a finer fleet. The Athenians guarded their own country, and the coasts of Eubœa and Salamis with a fleet of an hundred ships: they cruised round Peloponnesus with another fleet of the like number of vessels, exclusive of those which were before Lesbos and other places. The whole amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty galleys. The expences of this powerful armament quite exhausted their treasury, which had been very much drained before, by that of the siege of Potidæa.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly surprized at so formidable a fleet, which they no ways expected, returned speedily to their own country, and only ordered forty galleys to be fitted out for the succour of Mitylene. The Athenians had sent a reinforcement thither, consisting of a thousand soldiers heavily armed, by whose assistance they made a contravallation, with forts in the most commodious places; so that it was blocked up, both by sea and land, in the beginning of winter. The Athenians were in such great want of money, in order to carry on this siege, that they were forced to assess themselves, which they had never done before; and by this means two hundred talents were sent to it. Two hundred thousand crowns.

The Mityleneans being in want of all things, and having waited to no purpose for the succours which the Lacedæmonians had promised them, surrendered, upon condition that no person should be put to death or imprisoned, till the ambassadors, whom they should send to Athens, were returned; and that, in the mean time, the troops should be admitted into the city. As soon as the Athenians had got possession of the city, such of the factious Mityleneans as had fled to the altars

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by way of asylum, were conveyed to Tenedos, and afterwards to Athens. There the affair of the Mityleneans was debated. As their rebellion had greatly exasperated the people, because the Athenians had not treated them ill; and therefore that it seemed to be merely the effect of their hatred of them; in the first transports of their rage, they resolved to put to death, indiscriminately, all the citizens; and to make all the women and children slaves: and immediately they sent a galley to put the decree in execution.

But night gave them leisure to make a variety of reflections. This severity was judged too cruel, and carried farther than was conformable to the dictates of justice. They imaged to themselves, the fate of that unhappy city, quite abandoned to slaughter; and they repented their having involved the innocent with the guilty. This sudden change in the Athenians, gave the Mitylenean ambassadors some little glimmerings of hope; and they prevailed so far with the magistrates, as to have the affair debated a second time. Cleon, who had suggested the first decree, a man of a fiery temper, and who had great authority over the people, maintained his opinion with great vehemence and heat. He represented, that it was shameful for a wise government to change with every wind, and to annul in the morning, what they had decreed the night before; and that it highly concerned them, to take an exemplary vengeance of the Mityleneans, in order to awe other nations, who were every where ready to revolt.

Diodorus, who had contradicted Cleon in the first assembly, now opposed his reflections more strongly than before. After describing, in a tender and pathetick manner, the deplorable condition of the Mityleneans, whose minds (he said) must necessarily be on the rack, whilst they were expecting a sentence that was to pronounce their fate;

fate ; he represented to the Athenians, that the same of their mildness and clemency had ever reflected the highest honour on them, and distinguished them gloriously from all other nations : he observed, that the citizens of Mitylene had been drawn involuntarily into the rebellion, a proof of which was, their surrendering up the city to them, the instant it was in their power to do it : they therefore, by this decree, would murder their benefactors ; and consequently be both unjust and ungrateful, in thus punishing the innocent and the guilty. He observed farther, that supposing the Mityleneans in general were guilty, it yet would be for the interest of the Athenians to dissemble ; in order that the rigorous punishment they had decreed, might not exasperate the rest of the allies : and that the best way to put a stop to the evil, would be, to leave room for repentance ; and not plunge the Mityleneans into despair, by absolutely refusing them a pardon. His opinion therefore was, that they should examine very deliberately the cause of those factious Mityleneans who had been brought to Athens, and pardon all the rest.

The opinions were very much divided, so that Diodorus carried it only by a few votes. A second galley was therefore immediately fitted out. It was furnished with every thing that might accelerate its course ; and the ambassadors of Mitylene promised a great reward to the crew, provided they arrived time enough. They therefore did not quit their oars, even when they took sustenance, but eat and drank as they rowed, and took their rest alternately ; and, very happily for them, the wind was favourable. The first galley had got a day and night's sail before them ; but as those on board carried ill news, they did not make great haste. The arrival of the galley before the city, had spread the utmost consternation in every part of it : but it increased infinitely,

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when the decree, by which all the citizens were sentenced to die, was read in a full assembly. Nothing was now heard in all places but cries and howlings. The moment that the sentence was going to be put in execution, advice came that a second galley was arrived. Immediately the cruel massacre was suspended. The assembly was again convened; and the decree which granted a pardon was listened to with such a silence and joy, as is much easier conceived than expressed.

All the factious Mityleneans, though upwards of a thousand, were put to death. The city was afterwards dismantled, the ships delivered up; and the whole island, the city of Methymne excepted, was divided into three thousand parts or portions, three hundred of which were consecrated to the service of the gods; and the other parts were divided by lot, among such Athenians as were sent thither, to whom the natives of the country gave a revenue of two * Minæ for every portion; on which condition they were permitted to still possess the island, but not as proprietors. The cities which belonged to the Mityleneans on the coast of Asia, were all subjected by the Athenians.

Thucyd.
l. 3. P.
185—188

During the winter of the preceeding campaign, the inhabitants of Platææ, having lost all hopes of succour, and being in the utmost want of provisions, formed a resolution to cut their way thro' the enemy: but half of them, struck with the greatness of the danger, and the boldness of the enterprize, quite lost their courage when they came to the execution; but the rest (who were about two hundred and twenty soldiers) persisted in their resolution, and escaped in the following manner.

* The Attic mina was worth an hundred drachms, that is, fifty French livres.

Before I begin the description of their escape, ARTAX. LONGIM it will be proper to inform my readers, in what sense I take certain expressions I shall employ in it. In strictness of speech, the line or fortification which is made round a city when besieged, to prevent sallies, is called *contrevallation*; and that which is made to prevent any succours from without, is named *circumvallation*. Both these fortifications were employed at this siege; however, for brevity sake, I shall use only the former term. 115

The contrevallation consisted of two walls, at sixteen foot distance one from the other. The space between the two walls being a kind of platform or terrass, seemed to be but one single building, and composed a range of cazerns or barracks, where the soldiers had their lodgings. Lofty towers had been there built, at proper intervals, reaching from one wall to the other; in order that they might be able to defend themselves, at one and the same time, from any opposition either within or without. There was no going from one cazern to another without crossing those towers; and the top of the wall was lined, on both sides, with a parapet, in which a guard was commonly kept; but in rainy weather, the soldiers used to shelter themselves in the towers, which served as a corps de guard. Such was the contrevallation, on both sides of which was a ditch, the earth whereof had been employed in making the bricks of the wall.

The besieged first took the height of the wall, by counting the rows of bricks which composed it; and this they did at different times, and employed several men for that purpose, in order that they might not mistake in the calculation. This was the easier, because as the wall stood but at a little distance, every part of it was very visible. They then made ladders of a proper length.

All things being now ready for executing the design, the besieged left the city one night when there was no moon, in the midst of a storm of wind and rain. After crossing the first ditch, they drew near to the wall, undiscovered, by reason of the darkness of the night; not to mention that the noise made by the rain and wind, prevented their being heard. They marched at some distance from one another, for fear of the clashing of their arms, which were light, in order that those who carried them might be the more active; and one of their legs was naked, to keep them from sliding so easily in the mire. Those who carried the ladders, laid them in the space between the towers, where they knew no guard was posted, because it rained. That instant twelve men mounted the ladders, armed with only a coat of mail and a dagger; and marched directly to the towers, six on each side. They were followed by soldiers armed only with javelins, that they might mount the easier; and their shields were carried after, to defend them in case they should be opposed.

As most of these were got to the top of the wall, they were discovered by the falling of a tile which one of their comrades, as he was climbing, had forced from a parapet, by his clinging too hard to it. Immediately a shout was heard from the towers; and all the besiegers drew near the wall, but could not know what was the matter, because of the gloom of the night, and the violence of the storm. Besides, those who had stayed behind in the city, beat an alarm at the same time in another quarter, to make a diversion; so that the enemy did not know which way to turn themselves, and were afraid to quit their posts. But a corps de reserve, of three hundred men, who were kept for any unforeseen accident that might happen, ran out of the contrevallation to that part where they heard the noise; and torches were held
up

up towards Thebes, to show that they must run that way. But those in the city, to make the signal of no use, made others at the same time in different quarters; they keeping them ready on the wall for that purpose. ARTAX.
LONGIM.

In the mean time, those who had mounted first, having possessed themselves of the two towers which flanked the interval where the ladders were set; and having killed those who guarded them, posted themselves there, in order to defend the passage to them, and to keep the besiegers at a distance. Then, setting ladders from the top of the wall against the two towers, they obliged a good number of their comrades to mount them, in order to keep off, by the discharge of their arrows, those who were running to the foot of the wall, whilst others were advancing from the neighbouring towers. Whilst this was doing, they had had time to set up several ladders, and to demolish the parapet, in order that the rest might come up with the greater ease. In proportion as they mounted, they went down on the other side, and drew up on the side of the ditch, without, to shoot at those who appeared. After they were passed over, the men who were in the towers came down last, when running to the ditch, they crossed it after the rest.

That instant the guard of three hundred, with torches, came up. However, as the Plataeans, saw their enemies, by this light, better than they were seen by them; they took a surer aim, by which means the last crossed the ditch, without being attacked in their passage: however, this was not done without some difficulty, because the ditch was frozen over, and the ice would not bear, on account of the heavy rains. It was very happy for them that the storm continued so violent.

After that all were crossed over, they took the road towards Thebes, the better to conceal their retreat; because it could not be naturally supposed,

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*Upwards
of a quar-
ter of a
league.*

posed, that they had fled towards a city, whose inhabitants were their enemies. Immediately they perceived the besiegers, with torches in their hands, seeking after them in the road that led to Athens. After going up, six or seven stadia, that which went to Thebes, they turned short toward the mountain, and proceeded towards Athens, whither two hundred and twelve arrived, out of two hundred and twenty who had escaped out of Platææ; the rest having returned back to it, by their courage failing them, one archer excepted, who was taken on the side of the ditch of contrevallation. The besiegers, after having pursued them to no purpose, returned to their camp.

In the mean time, the Platæans who remained in the city, supposing that all their companions had been killed, (because those who were returned, in order to justify themselves, affirmed they were,) sent a herald to demand the dead bodies; but this officer being told the true state of the affairs, he withdrew.

Thucyd.
l. 3. p.
208--220.
Diod. l. 12.
p. 109.

About the end of the following campaign, which is that wherein Mitylene was taken, the Platæans being in absolute want of provisions, and unable to make the least defence, surrendred upon condition that they should not be punished but by due course of law. Five commissioners came for this purpose from Lacedæmonia, and these, without charging them with any crime, barely asked them whether they had done any service to the Lacedæmonians and the allies in this war. The Platæans were much surprized, as well as puzzled at this question; and were sensible, that it had been suggested by the Thebans, their professed enemies, who had vowed their destruction. They therefore put the Lacedæmonians in mind, of the services they had done to Greece in general, both at the battle of Artemisium, and that of Platææ; and particularly in Lacedæmonia, at the time of the earthquake,

earthquake, which was followed by the revolt of ARTAX. their slaves. The only reason (they declared) of LONGIM. their since joining with the Athenians, was, to defend themselves from the hostilities of the Thebans, against whom they had implored the assistance of the Lacedæmonians to no purpose. That if that was imputed to them for a crime, which was only their misfortune, this crime ought not however to quite obliterate the remembrance of their former services. "Cast your eyes, said they, on the monuments of your ancestors which you see here, to whom we annually offer up all those honours which can be paid to the manes of the dead. You thought fit to intrust their bodies with us, and to make us eye-witnesses to their bravery? And yet you will now give up their ashes to murderers, in abandoning us to the Thebans, who fought against them at the battle of Plataeæ? Will you enslave a province where Greece recovered its liberty? Will you destroy the temples of those gods, to whom you owe the victory? Will you abolish the memory of their founders, who contributed so greatly to your safety? On this occasion, we dare presume to say it, our interest is inseparable from your glory; and if you deliver up your antient friends and benefactors to the unjust hatred of the Thebans, it will reflect eternal infamy on you."

One would conclude, that these just remonstrances should have made some impression on the Lacedæmonians; but they were byassed more by the answer the Thebans made, and which was expressed in the most haughty and bitter terms against the Plataeans; and besides, they had brought orders from Lacedæmonia. They stood therefore to their first question, *viz. whether the Plataeans had done them any service since the war*; and making them pass one after another, as every one answered,

ARTAX. swered, No; he was immediately butchered, and
LONGIM. not one escaped. About two hundred were killed in this manner; and twenty-five Athenians who were among them, met with the same unhappy fate. Their wives who had been taken prisoners, were made slaves. The Thebans afterwards peopled their city with exiles from Megara and Plataeæ; but the year after they razed the city. It was in this manner that the Lacedæmonians, in the hopes of reaping great advantages from the Thebans, sacrificed the Plataeans to their animosity, ninety-three years from the time they first engaged in alliance with the Athenians.

A. M. In the sixth year of the war of Peloponnesus,
 3578. the plague broke out anew in Athens, and again
 Ant. J. C. swept away great numbers.

426.

Thucyd.

l. 8. p. 232.

S E C T. IV.

The Athenians possess themselves of Pylus, and are afterwards besieged in it. The Spartans are shut up in the little island of Sphaacteria. Cleon makes himself master of it. Artaxerxes dies.

THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH YEARS OF THE WAR

I pass over several particular incidents of the succeeding campaigns, which differ very little from one another; the Lacedæmonians making regularly every year incursions into Attica, and the Athenians into Peloponnesus; I likewise omit some sieges in different places: That of Pylus, a little city of Messenia, standing but four * hundred furlongs from Lacedæmonia, was one of the most considerable. The Athenians, headed by Demosthenes, had taken that city, and fortified themselves very strongly in it: this was the seventh year of the war. The Lacedæmonians left Attica immediately, in order to go and recover, if possible, that

A. M.

3579.

Ant. J. C.

425.

Thucyd.

l. 4. p. 253

—280.

Diod. l. 12.

p. 112

—114.

* Twenty

French

Leagues.

that city, and accordingly they invaded it both ^{ARTAX.} by sea and land. Brasidas, one of their leaders, ^{LONGIM} signalized himself here by the most extraordinary acts of bravery. Opposite to the city was a little island called Sphacteria, whence the besieged might be greatly annoyed, and the entrance of the harbour shut up. They therefore threw a chosen body of Lacedæmonians into it; making, in all, four hundred and twenty, exclusive of the Ilotes. A naval engagement was fought, in which the Athenians were victorious, and accordingly they set up a trophy. They surrounded the island; and set a guard in every part of it, to prevent any of the inhabitants from going out, or any provisions from being brought in to them.

The news of the defeat being come to Sparta, the magistrate thought this an affair of the utmost importance, and therefore came himself upon the spot, in order that he might be better able to take proper measures; when concluding that it would be impossible for him to save those who were in the island; and that they at last must necessarily be starved out, or be taken by some other means, he proposed an accommodation. A suspension of arms was then agreed, in order to give the Lacedæmonians time to send to Athens; but upon condition that they, in this interval, should surrender up all their galleys, and not attack the place either by sea or land, till the return of the ambassadors: That if they complied with these conditions, the Athenians would permit them to carry provisions to those who were in the island, at the * rate of so much for the master, and half for the servant; and that the whole should be done publickly, and in

* For the masters, two attick Cotyles, or half pints of wine, Chanices of flower, making about and a piece of meat: with half four pounds and a half, two this quantity for the servants.

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sight of both armies. That, on the other side, the Athenians should be allowed to keep guard round the island, to prevent any thing from going in or out of it, but should not attack it in any manner : That in case this agreement should be ever so little infringed, the truce would be broke ; otherwise, that it should continue in full force till the return of the ambassadors, whom the Athenians obliged themselves, by the articles, to convey backwards and forwards ; and that then, the Lacedæmonians should have their ships restored to them, in the same condition in which they had been delivered up. Such were the articles of the treaty. The Lacedæmonians began to put it in execution, by surrendring about threescore ships ; after which they sent ambassadors to Athens.

Being admitted to audience before the people, they began by saying, that they were come to the Athenians to sue for peace, which they themselves were, a little before, in a condition to grant them : That they now might acquire the glory of having restored all Greece to a wished-for tranquillity, since the Lacedæmonians would permit them to be the mediators in this treaty : That the danger to which their citizens were exposed in the island, had determined them to take such a step as could not but be very grating to Lacedæmonians : However, that their affairs were far from being desperate, and therefore, that now was the time to establish, between the two nations, a firm and solid friendship ; because the affairs of both were still fluctuating, and fortune had not yet declared absolutely in favour of either : That the gods frequently abandon those whose success swells them with pride, by shifting the scene, and making them as unfortunate as they before had been happy : That they ought to consider, that the fate of arms is very uncertain ; and that the way to establish a lasting peace,

peace, is not for the victor to triumph over his enemy by oppressing him, but to agree to a reconciliation on just and reasonable terms : For then, conquered by generosity and not by violence ; his future thoughts being all employed, not on revenge, but on gratitude, he is delighted, and thinks it his duty, to observe the several articles stipulated with inviolable fidelity.

ARTA
LONG.

The Athenians had now a noble opportunity to end the war, by a peace which would have been as glorious to them, as advantageous to all Greece. But Cleon, who had a great ascendant over the people, prevented so great a blessing. They therefore answered, (by his direction) that those who were in the island should first surrender at discretion ; and afterwards be carried to Athens, on the condition of being sent back from it, as soon as the Lacedæmonians should have restored the cities, &c. which the Athenians had been forced to give up by the last treaty ; and that these things being done, a firm and lasting peace should be concluded. The Lacedæmonians required to have deputies nominated ; and insisted that the Athenians should promise to agree to what these should determine. But Cleon exclaimed against this proposal, and said, it was plain they did not deal fairly, since they would not transact with the people, but with particular men, whom they might easily bribe ; and that, if they had any thing to offer, they should do it immediately. The Lacedæmonians, finding there was no possibility for them to treat with the people, without advising with their allies ; and that if any thing had been granted by them to their prejudice, they must be responsible for it, went away without concluding any thing ; fully persuaded that they must not expect equitable treatment from the Athenians, now fortune had raised them to so great a height of power.

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As soon as they were returned to Pylus, the suspension ceased : But when the Lacedæmonians came to demand back their ships, the Athenians refused to give them up, upon pretence that the treaty had been infringed in some particulars of little consequence. The Lacedæmonians inveighed strongly against this refusal, as being a manifest perfidy ; when immediately they prepared for war with greater vigour and animosity than before. A haughty carriage in success, and insincerity with regard to the observation of treaties, never fail, at last, to involve a people in great calamities. This will appear by what follows.

The Athenians continued to keep a watchful guard round the island, to prevent any provisions from being brought into it ; and hoped they should soon be able to starve out the inhabitants. But the Lacedæmonians prompted the whole country, by the views of lucre, to succour them ; they laying a heavy tax upon provisions, and giving such slaves their freedom as should run any into it. Provisions were therefore now brought, (at the hazard of mens lives) from all parts of Peloponnesus. There were even divers, who swam from the coast to the island, opposite to the harbour, and drew after them goats skins filled with pounded linseed, and poppies mixed with honey.

Those who were besieged in Pylus were reduced to almost the like extremities, being in want both of water and provisions. When advice was brought to Athens, that their countrymen, so far from reducing the enemy by famine, were themselves almost starved ; it was feared, that as it would not be possible for the fleet to subsist during the winter, on a desert coast which belonged to the enemy ; nor to lie at anchor in so dangerous a road, the island must by that means be less securely guarded, which would give the prisoners

an opportunity of making their escape. But the circumstance they chiefly dreaded was, lest the Lacedæmonians, after their countrymen were once extricated from their danger, should then refuse to hearken to any conditions of peace; so that they now repented their having refused it when offered them.

Cleon saw plainly that these complaints would terminate in him. He therefore began by asserting, that it was all a false report concerning the extreme want of provisions, to which the Athenians, both within and without of Pylus, were said to be reduced. He next exclaimed, in presence of the people, against the supineness and inactivity of the leaders who besieged the island; pretending, that were they to exert but ever so little their bravery, they might soon take the island; and that had he commanded, he would soon have taken it. Saying these words, he was immediately appointed to head the expedition; Nicias, who was to command it, resigning voluntarily that honour to him, either through weakness, for he was naturally fearful; or in a political view, in order that the ill success which it was generally believed Cleon would meet with in this enterprize, might lose him the favour of the people. But now Cleon was greatly surprized as well as puzzled; for he never dreamt that the Athenians would take him at his word, he being a finer talker than soldier, and managed his tongue much better than his sword. However, he desired leave to wave the honour they offered him, for which he alledged several excuses: But finding that the more he declined the command, the more they pressed him to accept of it, he changed his note; and supplying his want of courage with rhodomantade, he declared before the whole assembly, with a firm and resolute air, that he would

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bring, in twenty days, those of the island as prisoners, or lose his life. The whole assembly, at their hearing these words, burst out a laughing, they knowing his character but too well.

Nevertheless Cleon, contrary to the expectation of every one, made good his words. He and Demosthenes (the other chief) landed in the island, attacked the enemy with great vigour, repulsed them from post to post; and gaining ground perpetually, they at last drove them a considerable way up the island. The Lacedæmonians had stormed a fort that was thought inaccessible. There they drew up in battle-array, faced about to that side only where they might be attacked, and defended themselves like so many lions. As the engagement had held the greatest part of the day, and the soldiers were oppressed with heat and weariness, and parched with thirst; the general of the Messenians, directing himself to Cleon and Demosthenes, said, that all their efforts would be to no purpose, unless they charged their enemies rear; and promised, if they would give him but some bowmen, to turn and wind about till he met with a passage. Accordingly, he and his followers climbed up certain steep and craggy places which were not guarded; when coming down, unperceived, into the fort, he appeared on a sudden at the backs of the Lacedæmonians, which quite sunk their courage, and afterwards completed their overthrow. They now made but a very feeble resistance; and being oppressed with numbers, attacked on all sides, and cast down with weariness and despair, they began to give way: but the Athenians seized on all the passes, to cut off their retreat. Then Cleon and Demosthenes, finding that should the combat continue, not a man of them would escape; and being desirous of carrying them alive to Athens, they commanded their soldiers to de-

list;

sist; and caused proclamation to be made by a ^{ARTAX.} herald, for them to lay down their arms and sur- ^{LONGIM}render at discretion. At these words, the greatest part lowered their shields, and clapped their hands, in token of approbation. A kind of suspension of arms was now agreed upon; and their commander desired leave might be granted him, to dispatch a messenger to the camp, to know the resolution of the generals. This was not allowed, but they called heralds from the coast; and after several messages, a Lacedæmonian advanced forward, and cried aloud, that they were permitted to treat with the enemy, provided they did not submit to dishonourable terms. Hearing this, they held a conference; after which they surrendered at discretion, and were kept till the next day. The Athenians then raising a trophy, and restoring the Lacedæmonians their dead, embarked for their own country, after distributing the prisoners among the several ships, and committing the guard of them to the captain of the gallies.

In this battle, an hundred and twenty-eight Lacedæmonians fell, out of four hundred and twenty, which was their number at first; so that there survived not quite three hundred, an hundred and twenty of whom were Spartans, that is, inhabitants of the city of Sparta. The siege of the island, (to compute from the beginning of it, and including the time employed in the truce) had lasted threescore and twelve days. They all now left Pylus; and Cleon's promise, though so vain and rash, was found literally true. But, the most surprizing circumstance was, the agreement, that had been made; for it was believed that the Lacedæmonians, so far from surrendering up their arms, would die sword in hand.

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Being come to Athens, they were ordered to remain prisoners till a peace should be concluded, provided the Lacedæmonians did not make any incursions into their country, for that then they should all be put to death. They left a garrison in Pylus. The Messenians of Naupactus, who had formerly possessed it, sent thither the flower of their youth, who very much infested the Lacedæmonians by their incursions; and as these Messenians spoke the language of the country, they prevailed with a great number of slaves to join them. The Lacedæmonians, dreading a greater evil, sent several deputations to Athens, but to no purpose; the Athenians being too much elated with their prosperity, and especially with their late success, to listen to any terms.

Thucyd.
1.4.p.285,
286.

In the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, Artaxerxes sent to the Lacedæmonians an ambassador named Artaphernes, with a letter written in the Assyrian language, in which he said; that he had received many embassies from them, but the purport of them all differed so widely, that he could not comprehend, in any manner, what it was they requested: that in this uncertainty, he had thought proper to send a Persian, to acquaint them, that if they had any proposal to make, they should send a trusty person along with him, from whom he might be exactly informed what it was they desired. This ambassador, arriving at Eion standing on the river Strymon in Thrace, was there taken prisoner, about the close of this year, by one of the admirals of the Athenian fleet, who sent him to Athens. He there was treated with the utmost civility and respect; the Athenians being extremely desirous of recovering the favour of the king his master.

The

The year following, as soon as the season would ^{ARTAX.} permit the Athenians to put to sea, they sent the ^{LONGIM} ambassador back in a ship belonging to the commonwealth, at the publick expence ; and appointed some of their citizens to wait upon him to the court of Persia, in quality of ambassadors. Coming ashore at Ephesus, they there heard that Artaxerxes was dead : when the Athenian ambassadors, thinking it not adviseable to proceed farther after this news, took leave of Artaphernes, and returned to their own country.



BOOK THE EIGHTH.

The Antient

HISTORY

OF THE

Persians *and* Grecians

Sequel of the history of the Persians and Greeks, and of the Peloponnesian war, in the reigns of Xerxes II. of Sogdianus, and of Darius Nothus.

CHAPTER I.

XERXES
II.

THIS chapter takes up the thirteen years of the Peloponnesian war, to the nineteenth inclusively.

SECT. I.

The very short reigns of Xerxes II and Sogdianus. They are succeeded by Darius Nothus. He puts a stop to the insurrection of Egypt, and that of Media. He bestows on Cyrus, his youngest son, the supreme command of all Asia minor.

A. M.

3579.

Ant. J. C.

425.

Ctes. c. 47

— 51.

Diod. l. 12

p. 115.

AR TAXERXES died about the beginning of the forty-ninth year of his reign. Xerxes who succeeded him, was the only son which the queen

queen his wife brought him : but he had seventeen others by his concubines, among whom was Sogdianus, (who is called Secondianus by Ctesias) Ochus and Arsites. Sogdianus in concert with Pharnacias one of Xerxes's eunuchs, came insidiously, one festival day, to the new king, who, after drinking too immoderately, was retired to his chamber, in order to give the fumes of the wine he had drunk time to evaporate ; where he killed him without any difficulty, after he had reigned but forty-five days ; which done, Sogdianus stepped into the throne.

Scarce was he seated in it, but he put to death Bagorazus, the most faithful of all his father's eunuchs. It was he who had been appointed to superintend the interment of Artaxerxes, and of the queen, Xerxes's mother, who died the same day with her royal consort. After having deposited the two bodies in the mausolæum, where the kings of Persia were interred ; he found, at his return, Sogdianus on the throne, who did not receive him favourably, because of a contest he had had with him, in the life-time of his father. But the new king did not stop here ; he, not long after, taking an opportunity to quarrel with him, on some little matter relating to the obsequies of his father, and caused him to be stoned.

These two murders, that of his brother Xerxes and of Bagorazus, made him be detested by the army and the nobles ; so that he did not think himself safe on a throne, to which he had forced his way by such horrid murders. He suspected that his brothers harboured the like design ; and Ochus, to whom his father had left the government of Hyrcania, was the chief object of his suspicion. Accordingly he sent for him, with the intention of getting him murdered the moment of his arrival. However Ochus, who saw through his design, delayed coming upon various pretences ;

and

SOGDIANUS.

and continued to do this, till he marched forward at the head of a strong army, which he openly declared he would employ, to revenge the death of his brother Xerxes. This declaration brought over to him a great number of the nobility, and several governours of provinces, they being justly dissatisfied at Sogdianus's cruelty and ill-conduct. They put the tiara on Ochus's head, and proclaimed him king. Sogdianus, seeing himself abandoned in this manner, was as mean and cowardly in the slight defence he made to maintain his crown, as he had before been unjust and barbarous in usurping it. Contrary to the advice of his best friends, and the wisest persons who still adhered to him, he concluded a treaty with his brother, who, seizing Sogdianus, caused him to be thrown into ashes, where he died a cruel death.

Val. Max.
I. 9. c. 2.
II. Macab.
c. 13.

This was a kind of punishment peculiar to the Persians, and exercised only on great criminals. One of the highest towers was filled, to a certain height, with ashes. Then the criminal was thrown headlong from the top of the tower into them; after which, the ashes were, by a wheel, turned perpetually round him, till such time as he was suffocated. Thus this wicked prince lost his life and his empire, which he enjoyed but six months and fifteen days.

**DARIUS
NOTHUS.**
A. M.
3581.
Ant. J. C.
423.

Ochus, by the death of Sogdianus, now saw himself possessed of the empire. As soon as he was well settled in it, he changed his name from Ochus to that of Darius. To distinguish him, historians add the epithet Νῆος, Nothos, or Nothus, signifying bastard. He reigned nineteen years.

Arsites, seeing in what manner Sogdianus had supplanted Xerxes, and had himself been dethroned by Ochus, meditated to serve the last mentioned prince in the same manner. Though he was his brother both by the father's as well as mother's side, he yet broke in open rebellion against him, and

and was assisted in it by Artyphius son of Megabyzus. Ochus, whom hereafter we shall always call Darius, sent Artasyras, one of his generals, against Artyphius; and himself, at the head of another army, marched out against Arsites. Artyphius, with the Grecian troops in his pay, defeated twice the general who had been sent against him. But engaging a third time, the last mentioned troops were corrupted; and he himself was beat, and forced to surrender, upon his being flattered with hopes that a pardon would be granted him. The king would have had him put to death, but was diverted from that resolution by queen Parysatis, Darius's sister and queen. She also was the daughter of Artaxerxes, but not by the same mother as Darius: she was an intriguing, artful woman, and the king her husband was governed by her on most occasions. The counsel she now gave was perfidious to the last degree. She advised him to exercise his clemency towards Artyphius, and show him kind usage, in order that his brother might hope, when he heard of his treating a rebellious servant with so much generosity; that he himself should meet, at least, with as mild treatment, and thereby be prompted to lay down his arms. She added, that when once he should have seized that prince, he then might dispose both of him and Artyphius as he pleased. Darius followed her counsel, and it was successful. Arsites being informed of the gentle usage which Artyphius met with, concluded that, as he was the king's brother, he consequently would meet with still more indulgent treatment; and flattered with this hope, he concluded a treaty, and surrendered himself. Darius was very much inclined to save his life: but Parysatis, by inculcating to him, that he ought to punish this rebel to secure himself; at last prevailed with him to put his brother to death, and accordingly he was suffo-
cated;

DARIUS cated in ashes with Artyphius. However, Darius
NOTHUS. had a violent struggle with himself, before he
 could give orders for this sacrifice; he having a
 very tender affection for this brother. He after-
 wards put some other persons to death, which ex-
 ecutions did not procure him the tranquillity he
 had expected from them: for his reign was after-
 wards disturbed with such violent commotions,
 that he enjoyed but little repose.

A. M. One of the most dangerous commotions was,
 3590. that occasioned by the insurrection of Pisuthnes,
 Ant. J. C. who, being governour of Lydia, wanted to break
 414. off from his allegiance to the persian empire, and
 Ctes. c. make himself king in his province. The circum-
 51. stance which flattered him with the hopes of suc-
 ceeding on this occasion, was, his having raised
 a considerable army (which he himself paid) of
 Greeks, under the command of Lycon the Athe-
 nian. Darius sent Tissafernes against this rebel,
 and bestowed upon him, at the same time that he
 gave him a considerable army, the commission of
 governour of Lydia, of which he was to dispossess
 Pisuthnes. Tissafernes, who was an artful man,
 and capable of acting in all characters, found
 means of speaking to the Greeks under Pisuthnes;
 when, by dint of presents and promises, he won
 over the troops and their general, who accordingly
 came over to him. The rebel, who, by this de-
 sertion was unable to carry on his designs, sur-
 rendred, upon his being flattered with the hopes of
 obtaining his pardon; but the instant he was
 brought before the king, he was sentenced to be
 suffocated in ashes, and accordingly met with the
 same fate as the rest of the rebels. But his death
 did not put an end to all their troubles; for A-
 Thucyd. morges his son, with the remainder of his army,
 1. 8. p. still opposed Tissafernes; and for two years he
 554--567, laid waste the maritime provinces of Asia minor,
 568. till he at last was taken by the Greeks of Pello-
 ponnesus,

ponnefus, in Iafus, a city of Ionia, and delivered DARIUS up by the inhabitants to Tiffafernes, who put him NOTHUS to death.

Darius was involved in fresh troubles by one Ctes. c. 51 of his eunuchs. These officers had, for many years, usurped a sovereign power in the court of Persia; and we shall find by the sequel of this history, that they always governed absolutely in it. We Vopif. in vit. Au- relian. Imper. may know their character, and the danger to which they expose princes, by the picture which Dioclesian, after he had resigned the empire, and reduced himself to a private station of life, drew of freedmen, who, in like manner, tyrannized over the Roman Emperours. “ Four or “ five persons”, says he, “ who are closely u- “ nited, and resolutely determined to impose on “ a prince, may do it very easily. They never “ exhibit things to him but in such a light, as “ they are sure will please. They conceal whate- “ ver would contribute to enlighten him : and as “ they, only, besiege him continually, he cannot “ be informed of any particulars but such as they “ please to tell him, and he does nothing but “ what they may think proper to bid him. “ Hence it is, that he bestows employments on “ those to whom he ought to refuse them ; and, “ on the other side, removes from their posts, “ such persons as are most worthy of filling them. “ In a word, the best prince is often sold by these “ men, though he be ever so watchful, and even “ suspicious.” *Quid multa ? Ut Diocletianus ipse dicebat, bonus, cautus, optimus venditur imperator.*

In this manner was Darius's court governed. Three eunuchs had usurped all the power of it ; * an infallible mark that a government is bad, and the prince has not the least merit. But one of

* Scis precipuum esse indicium non magni principis, magnos libertos. *Plin. ad Trajan.*

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

those three eunuchs, whose name was Artōxanes, presided over, and governed the rest. He had found Darius's weak side, by which he insinuated himself into his confidence. He had studied all his passions, in order that he might seek every opportunity to indulge them, and govern his prince by their means. He for ever immersed him in pleasures and amusements, purposely that he himself might enjoy all the regal authority. In fine, under the name and protection of queen Parysatis, to whose will he was a faithful slave, he disposed of the whole administration, and nothing was transacted but by his orders. Intoxicated by the supreme authority which the favour of his sovereign gave him, he resolved to make himself king, instead of being prime minister ; and accordingly formed a design to get Darius out of the way, and afterwards ascend the throne. However, his plot being discovered, he was seized and delivered up to Parysatis, who put him to a most ignominious and cruel death.

Euseb. in
Chron.

But the greatest evil which happened in Darius's reign, was the revolt of the Egyptians. This dreadful calamity broke out the same year with Pisuthnes's rebellion. But Darius could not reduce Egypt as he had done that rebel. The Egyptians, tired with the Persian government, flocked from all parts to Amyrtæus of Sais, who at last was come out of the fens where he had defended himself, ever since Inarus's insurrection had been quelled. The Persians were drove out, and Amyrtæus proclaimed king of Egypt, where he reigned six years.

Thucyd.
l. i. p.
72, 73.

After having fixed himself securely on the throne, and quite drove the Persians out of Egypt, he prepared to pursue them as far as Phœnicia, and had already concerted measures, with the Arabians, to attack them in that country. News of this

this being brought the king of Persia, he recalled ^{DARIUS} his fleet which he had promised the Lacedæmoni- ^{NOTHUS.} ans, in order that they might guard his own dominions.

Whilst that Darius was carrying on the war in Egypt and in Arabia, the Medes rebelled ; however, they were defeated, and reduced to their allegiance by force of arms. To punish them for this rebellion, their yoke (till then easy enough) was made heavier : a fate that rebellious subjects ever meet with, when the government, which they endeavoured to subvert, gains the upper hand.

Darius's arms seem to have had the like success ^{Herod.} against the Egyptians. Amyrtæus dying after he ^{l. 3. c. 15} had reigned six years, (he possibly was killed in a battle) Herodotus observes, it was by the assistance of the Persians that Pausiris his son succeeded him in the throne. To effect this, they must have been masters of Egypt ; else they must have had the strongest party in that kingdom.

After having crushed the rebels in Media, and ^{An. M.} restored the affairs of Egypt to their former situ- ^{3597.} ation, Darius gave to Cyrus, the youngest of his ^{Ant. J. 6} sons, the supreme command of all the provinces of ^{407.} Asia minor : an important commission, by which he commanded over all the governours of particular cities, &c. in that part of the empire.

I thought it proper to anticipate the periods, and draw together all those incidents which relate to the kings of Persia ; to prevent my being obliged to often interrupt the history of the Greeks, to which I now return.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

S E C T. II.

The Athenians possess themselves of the island of Cythera. Expeditions of Brasidas into Thrace. He takes Amphipolis. Thucydides the historian is banished. A battle is fought near Delium, where the Athenians are defeated.

THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

THE three or four campaigns which followed the reduction of the little island of Sphacteria, were distinguished by very few considerable events.

A. M. 3580. The Athenians headed by Nicias, took the little
Ant. J. C. island of Cythera, situated on the coast of Lacedæmonia, near cape Malea, and from thence they
424. infested the whole country.
Thucyd. 1. 4. p. 286. Brasidas, on the other side, marched towards
Thucyd. 1. 4. p. 304—311 Thrace. The Lacedæmonians were induced by
Diod. l. 12. more than one motive to undertake this expedition ; imagining they should oblige the Athenians
P. 117, who had fallen upon them in their country, to divide their forces. The inhabitants of it invited
118. them thither, and offered to pay the army. In fine, they were extremely glad to embrace that opportunity, in order to rid themselves of the Ilotes, whom they expected to rise in rebellion, ever since the taking of Pylus. They had already made away with two thousand of them in a most shocking manner. Upon the specious pretence of rewarding merit even in slaves, but, in reality, to get rid of a body of men whose courage they dreaded ; they caused proclamation to be made, that such of the Ilotes as had done the greatest service to the state in the last campaigns, should enter their names in the publick registers ; in order for their being manumitted. Accordingly two thousand

thousand gave in their names. They then were carried in procession by the temples, with chaplets of flowers on their heads, as though they were really to be set at liberty. After this ceremony, they all disappeared, and were never heard of more. We have here an instance, in what manner a jealous policy, and a suspicious power, prompt men to the commission of the blackest crimes; and not scruple to make even religion itself, and the authority of the gods, subservient to their dark designs.

They therefore sent seven hundred Ilotes with Brasidas, whom they had appointed to head this enterprize. This general won over several cities, either by force or by intelligence, and still more by his wisdom and moderation. The chief of these were Acanthus and Stagyra, which were two colonies from Andros. He also marched afterwards towards Amphipolis, an Athenian colony, on the river Strymon. Immediately the inhabitants dispatched a messenger to * Thucydides the Athenian general, who was then in Thasus, a little island of the Ægean sea, half a day's journey from Amphipolis. He then sailed that moment with seven ships he had with him, to secure the place before Brasidas could seize upon it; or, at the worst, to get into Eion, which lay very near Amphipolis. Brasidas, who was afraid of Thucydides, because of the great credit he had in all that country, where he was possessed of some gold-mines, made all the dispatch imaginable, to get thither before him; and offered such advantageous conditions to the besieged, who did not expect succours so soon, that they surrendered. Thucydides arrived the same evening at Eion; and had he failed to come that day, Brasidas would have taken possession of it the next morning by day-break. Although Thu-

DARIUS.
NOTHUS.

p. 320—
324.

* He who wrote the history of the Peloponnesian war.

DARIUS cydides had made all imaginable dispatch ; never-
NOTHUS. theless the Athenians charged him with being the
 cause of the taking of Amphipolis, and accordingly
 sentenced him to banishment.

The Athenians were greatly afflicted at the loss of that city, as well because they drew great revenues from it, and timber to build their ships, as because it was a kind of gate to enter Thrace by. They were afraid that all their allies in that neighbourhood would revolt ; especially as Brasidas discovered great moderation and justice, and was for ever declaring, that he came with no other view but to free the country. He declared to the several nations, that at his leaving Sparta, he had taken an oath in presence of the magistrates, to leave all those the enjoyment of their liberties, who would conclude an alliance with him ; and that he ought to be considered as the most abandoned of men, should he employ oaths to ensnare their credulity. “ For,” according to Brasidas, “ a fraud “ that is cloaked with a specious pretence, reflects “ infinitely greater dishonour on persons in high “ stations, than open violence ; because that the “ latter is the effect of the power which fortune “ has put into our hands ; whilst the former is “ built wholly on perfidy, which is the pest of “ society. Now I,” said he, “ should do a “ great disservice to my country, besides bring- “ ing an eternal odium on it, if, by procuring it “ some slight advantages, I should ruin the repu- “ tation it enjoys of being just and faithful to its “ promises ; which render it much more powerful “ than all its forces united together, because the “ former acquire them the esteem and confidence “ of other nations.” From such noble and equitable principles as these Brasidas always shaped his conduct ; believing, that the strongest bulwark of a nation is justice, moderation, integrity ; and the firm persuasion which their neighbours and allies entertain,

entertain, that they are not so base as to harbour a design to usurp their territories, or deprive them of their liberty. By this conduct he won over a great number of the enemies allies. DARIUS
NOTHUS.

The Athenians, under the command of Demosthenes and Hippocrates, had entered Boeotia, expecting that several cities would join them, the moment they should appear. The Thebans marched out to meet them near Delium. A considerable engagement was there fought, in which the Athenians were defeated and put to flight. Socrates was in this battle ; and Laches, who accompanied that great man in it, gives the following testimony of him in Plato ; that had the rest of the combatants behaved as gallantly as Socrates, the Athenians would not have sustained so great loss before Delium. He was carried along with the crowds who fled, and was on foot ; but Alcibiades, who was on horseback, spying Socrates, he ran up, and did not stir from him, but defended him with the utmost bravery from the attacks of the enemy who were pursuing him. Thucyd.
l. 4. p.
311—319
Plat. in
Lachet.
p. 181.
In conviv.
p. 221.
Plut. in
Alcib.
p. 195.

The battle being ended, the victors besieged the city. Among other engines employed by them to batter it, they used one of a very extraordinary kind. This was a long piece of timber, cut into two parts, and afterwards dug hollow and joined again, so that its shape resembled very much that of a flute. At one of the ends was fixed a long iron tube, whence a cauldron hung ; so that by blowing a large pair of bellows at the other end of the piece of timber, the wind being carried from thence into the tube, lighted a great fire, with pitch and brimstone, that lay in the cauldron. This engine being carried on carts as far as the rampart, to that part where it was lin'd with stakes and fascines, threw out so great a flame, that the rampart being immediately abandoned, and the palissades burnt, the city was easily taken

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

SECT. III.

A twelve months truce is agreed upon between the two nations. Cleon and Brasidas die. A treaty of peace for fifty years, concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.

NINTH, TENTH AND ELEVENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

Thucyd.

l. 4. p.

328—333

Diod. l. 12.

p. 120.

A. M.

3581.

Ant. J. C.

423.

THE losses and advantages on both sides were pretty equal ; and the two nations began to grow tired of a war, which put them to great expence, and did not procure them ~~any~~ real benefit. A truce, for a year, was therefore concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The former were prompted to it, in order to check the progress of Brasidas's conquests ; to secure their cities and strong-holds ; and afterwards to conclude a general peace, in case they judged it would be of advantage to them. The latter were engaged to it, in order, by the sweets of repose, to make them wish for peace ; and to get out of their hands such of their citizens as the Athenians had taken prisoners in the island of Sphacteria ; and which they could never expect to do, should Brasidas extend farther his conquests. The news of this accommodation plunged Brasidas into the deepest grief, since this checked him in the midst of his career, and disconcerted all his projects. He could not even prevail with himself to abandon the city of Scione, which he had taken two days before, but without knowing that a truce was concluded. He went still farther ; and did not scruple to take Mende, a little city not far from Scione, that surrendered to him as the former had done, which was a direct violation of the treaty : but
Brasidas

Brasidas pretended he had other infractions to ob- DARIUS
NOTHUS.
ject to the Athenians.

It will naturally be supposed, that this people was in no manner pleased with this conduct of Brasidas. Cleon, in all publick assemblies, was for ever inflaming the minds of the Athenians, and blowing up the fire of war. His great success in the expedition of Sphacteria had raised his credit infinitely with the people : he now was grown insupportably proud; and his audaciousness was not to be restrained. He was master of a vehement, impetuous, and furious kind of eloquence, which prevailed over the minds of his auditors, not so much by the strength of his arguments, as by the boldness and fire of his style and utterance. It was Cleon who first set the example of bauling in assemblies, where the greatest decorum and moderation had till then been observed ; of throwing his robe behind him, to give him the more liberty to display his arms ; of striking his thigh ; and of running up and down the rostra whilst he was making his speech. In a word, he first introduced among the orators, and all those who were in publick employments, an ungovernable licentiousness, and a contempt of decency : a licentiousness and contempt, which soon introduced a dreadful confusion in the publick affairs.

Thus two men opposed, severally, the tranquillity of Greece, and raised, but in a very different way, an invincible obstacle to its peace. These men were Cleon and Brasidas. The former, because the war screened his vices and evil conduct ; and the latter, because it added a new lustre to his virtues. And indeed, it gave Cleon an opportunity of doing very unjust things, and Brasidas of performing great and noble actions. But their death, which happened about the same time, healed the divisions between the two nations.

DARIUS
 NOTHUS.
 A. M.
 3582.
 Ant. J. C.
 422.
 Thucyd.
 l. 3. p.
 342—351
 Diod. l. 12.
 p. 121,
 122.

The Athenians had appointed Cleon to head the troops which were to oppose Brasidas, and reduce those cities that had revolted from their allegiance. There was none for whose preservation the Athenians were so solicitous as Amphipolis; and Brasidas threw himself into that city, in order to defend it. Cleon had written to Perdiccas king of Macedonia, and to the king of the Odomanti, to furnish him with as many troops as possible, and with the utmost expedition. He waited for them, and had resolved not to march immediately towards the enemy: but finding his soldiers who had followed him involuntarily and with regret, grow tired of continuing so long unactive; and compared his cowardice and inexperience, with the ability and valour of Brasidas, he could no longer bear their contempt and murmurs; and imagining himself a great captain by his taking Sphaacteria, he now fancied the same good fortune would attend him at Amphipolis. He therefore approached it, merely, as he said, to take a view of the place, and till such time as all his forces should be come up; not that he thought he had need of any to win that city, or that he doubted in any manner his success, (for he was persuaded that no one would dare to oppose him;) but only to enable him to invest the place on all sides, and afterwards to take it by storm. Accordingly he came and incamped before Amphipolis; when viewing very leisurely its situation, he fondly supposed that it would be in his power to retire whenever he pleased, without drawing the sword; for not a man came out, or appeared on the walls; and all the gates of the city were kept shut, so that Cleon began to repent his not having brought up the engines, imagining that he wanted only these to make himself master of the city. Brasidas, who was perfectly well acquainted with Cleon's disposition and character, studiously affected an air of fear and reserve, to increase his temerity,

and

and the good opinion he had of himself: besides, ^{DARIUS} he knew that Cleon had brought with him the ^{NOTHUS.} flower of the Athenian forces, and the choicest troops of Lemnos and of Imbrus. Accordingly Cleon, greatly despising an enemy who did not dare to appear before him, but shut himself up, in a cowardly manner, in the city; went boldly and inadvertently from place to place, during which there was the utmost neglect of discipline among his soldiers. Brasidas, whose intention was, to attack him on a sudden before all his forces should be come up, thought this the critical juncture. He had concerted proper measures, and given out the orders necessary. He then sallied out at once on the Athenians, who now were greatly surprized and disconcerted. Immediately the left wing drew off from the main body, and fled. Brasidas then turned the whole force of his arms against the right wing, where he found a vigorous resistance. Here he was wounded and disabled, upon which his soldiers carried him off, unperceived by the Athenians. As for Cleon, having no inclination for fighting, he fled, and was taken by a soldier who happened to meet him. The troops he commanded defended themselves for some time, and sustained two or three attacks without giving ground, but at last they were broke through, and all gave way. Brasidas was then carried into the city, where he survived his victory but a few moments.

The whole army being returned from the pursuit, stripped the slain, and afterwards set up a trophy. Then all the allies, under arms, solemnized the funeral obsequies of Brasidas in a publick manner; and the inhabitants of Amphipolis celebrated funeral honours, every year, to his memory, as to a hero; with games, combats, and sacrifices. They considered him as their founder; and, to secure this title the better to him, they polished

DARIUS
NOTHUS.
*Agnon the
Athenian.*

demolished all the monuments of him who had really founded their city ; in order to show, that they did not owe their establishment to an Athenian, and at the same time to ingratiate themselves the more with the Lacedæmonians, on whom they depended wholly for their security. The Athenians, after having carried off, with the consent of the victors, their dead ; returned to Athens, during which the Lacedæmonians settled the affairs of Amphipolis.

Diod.
p. 122.

A saying is related of Brasidas's mother, which exhibits strongly the Spartan character. As some persons were applauding, in her presence, the fine qualities and exalted actions of her son, and declared him superiour to all other generals : *You are mistaken*, says she ; *my son was a valiant man, but Sparta has many citizens who are still braver than he*. A mother's generosity, in thus preferring the glory of the state to that of her son, was admired, and did not go unrewarded, for the Ephori paid her publick honours.

Thucyd.
l. 5. p.
351—354

After this last engagement, in which the two persons who were the greatest obstacles to the peace lost their lives, both nations seemed more inclined to an accommodation, and the war was suspended, as it were, on both sides. The Athenians, ever since the loss of the battles of Delium and Amphipolis, had very much lowered their haughtiness ; and were undeceived with regard to the opinion they had hitherto entertained of their own strength, and which had made them refuse the advantageous offers of their enemies. Besides, they were afraid of the revolt of their allies, who, being discouraged by their losses, might thence be prompted to abandon them, as several had already done. These reflections made them strongly repent their not having concluded a treaty, after the advantages they had gained in Pylus. The Lacedæmonians, on the other side, no longer flattered themselves with the hopes

hopes of being able to ruin the Athenians by laying waste their country; and were likewise disheartened and terrified at their loss in the island, the greatest they had ever sustained hitherto. They also considered, that their country was depopulated by the garrison of Pylus and Cythera; that their slaves deserted; that they had reason to dread a greater insurrection; and that as the truce they had concluded with the inhabitants of Argos was near expiring, they had reason to be apprehensive of being abandoned by some of their allies of Peloponnesus, as they accordingly were. These several motives, enforced by the desire they had of recovering the prisoners, the greatest part of whom were the most considerable citizens of Sparta, made them desire a peace.

Those who were most solicitous for having it concluded, and whose interest it was chiefly to wish it, were the chiefs of the two states, viz. Plistonax king of Lacedæmonia, and Nicias general of the Athenians. The former was lately returned from banishment, to which he had been sentenced, on account of his being suspected to have received a bribe, in order to draw off his troops from the Athenian territories; and to this precipitate retreat was ascribed several misfortunes which followed after it. He also was charged with having corrupted, by gifts, the priestess of Delphos, who had commanded the Spartans, in the name of the god, to recall him from his exile. Plistonax was therefore desirous of peace, in order to put an end to the reproaches, which, on account of the perpetual calamities of the war, were daily revived. As for Nicias the most fortunate general of his age, he was afraid lest some unhappy accident should tarnish the glory of his laurels; and he was very glad to enjoy the fruits of peace in ease and tranquillity,

DARIUS quillity, and have his country to possess the same
 NOTHUS. happiness.

Thucyd.

l. 5. p. 354.

Plut. in

Nic.

p. 528,

529.

The two nations began by agreeing to a suspension of arms for twelve months, during which, being every day together, and tasting the sweets of security and repose, and the pleasure of corresponding with their friends and with foreigners; they grew passionately desirous of leading an easy, undisturbed life, far removed from the wild tumults of war, and the horrors of blood and slaughter. They gave the utmost demonstrations of joy, in hearing the chorus's of their tragedies sing, *May Spiders henceforward weave their cobwebs on our lances and shields!* And they remembered with pleasure him who said, *Those who sleep in balmy peace, do not start from it at the sound of the trumpet; and nothing interrupts their sweet slumbers but the peaceful crowing of the cock.*

Diod. l. 13.

p. 122.

A. M.

3583.

Ant. J. C.

421.

The whole winter was spent in conferences, and interviews, in which each party exhibited his rights and pretensions. At last, a fifty years peace was agreed upon and ratified, one of the chief articles of which was, that they should reciprocally give up the prisoners on each side. This treaty was concluded ten years and some days from the first declaration of the war. The Bœotians and Corinthians were exceedingly disgusted at it, and, for that reason set every engine at work in order to excite fresh troubles. But Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to apply the last seal, as it were, to this peace, by concluding an alliance offensive and defensive, which would strike a greater awe into all those who should want to break off from them, and make them surer of one another. The Athenians, in consequence of this treaty, at last restored the prisoners taken by them in the island of Sphacteria.

Thucyd.

l. 5. p. 358,

359.

S E C T. IV.

Alcibiades exhibits himself. His character ; the very opposite to that of Nicias. He breaks the treaty which Nicias had concluded. The banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the Ostracism.

TWELFTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

ALCIBIADES began now to advance him-^{Plut. in} self in the state, and appear in the publick as-^{Alcib.} semblies. Socrates had devoted himself to that re-^{P. 192,} nowned Grecian many years, and adorned his soul^{194.} with a great variety of the noblest erudition.

The strict intimacy between Alcibiades and Socrates is one of the most remarkable circumstances in his life. This philosopher finding him possessed of excellent natural qualities, which were greatly heightened by the beauty of his person ; bestowed incredible pains in cultivating so valuable a plant, for fear, lest being neglected, it should shoot up wildly, or quite wither away. And indeed, Alcibiades was exposed to numberless dangers, by the greatness of his extraction, his vast riches, the credit and authority of his family, the reputation of his tutors, his personal talents, his exquisite beauty ; and, still more than these, by the flattering arts employed by all who approached him. One would have concluded, says Plutarch, that fortune had surrounded and invested him with all these pretended advantages, as with so many ramparts and bulwarks, to make him invulnerable to all the darts of philosophy ; to those salutary darts which strike to the very heart, and leave in it the strongest excitement to virtue and solid glory. But those very obstacles redoubled the zeal of Socrates.

Notwith-

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

Notwithstanding the strong endeavours that were used, to divert this young Athenian from a correspondence which alone was capable of securing him from all the above-mentioned temptations, he yet cultivated it very assiduously. As Alcibiades was a man of the finest sense, he was fully sensible of Socrates's rare and uncommon merit; and could not resist the charms of his sweetly-insinuating eloquence, which at that time had a greater ascendant over him than the allurements of pleasure. He was so zealous a disciple of this able master, that he followed him wherever he went; took the utmost delight in his conversation, was extremely well pleased with his principles, received his instructions and even his reprimands with wonderful docility; and would be so moved with his discourses, as even to shed tears, and abhor himself; so weighty was the force of truth in the mouth of Socrates, and in so ugly and frightful a light did he exhibit the vices to which Alcibiades abandoned himself.

Alcibiades, in those moments when he listened to Socrates, differed so much from himself, that he appeared quite another man. However, his headstrong, fiery temper, and his natural fondness for pleasure, which was heightened and inflamed by the discourses and advice of young people, soon plunged him again into his former irregularities, and tore him, as it were, from his master; who then was obliged to run after him as if he had been a slave who had escaped. This vicissitude of flights and returns, of virtuous resolutions and relapses into vice, continued a long time; but still Socrates was not disheartened at his fickleness, but hoped he should at last make a proselyte of him to the cause of virtue. And to these were certainly owing the strong mixture of good and evil, which were for ever blended in his conduct; the instructions which his master

Had

had instilled into him, sometimes triumphing; ^{Darius} and at other times, the fire of his passions drag- ^{Notus.} ging him, as it were, against his own will, to things of a quite opposite nature.

This intimacy, which continued as long as they lived, did not pass uncensured. But some persons * of great learning pretend, that these censures and suspicions, when duly examined, quite disappear; and that they ought to be considered as the effect of the malice of both their enemies. Plato, in one of his dialogues, gives us a conversation between Socrates and Alcibiades, wherein is represented the genius and character of the latter, who henceforward will have a very great share in the administration, at the head of which he will make a very conspicuous figure. I will give a very short extract of it in this place, which I hope will not displease my readers.

In this dialogue, Socrates is introduced conver- ^{Plut. is} sing with Alcibiades, who at that time was under ^{Alcib. I.} the guardianship of Pericles. He was then very young, and had been educated like the rest of the Athenians; that is, he had been taught polite literature, and to play on instruments, and had practised wrestling and other bodily exercises. It does not appear that Pericles had hitherto taken much pains in Alcibiades's education (a fault too common in the greatest men) since he had put him under the tutorage of Zopyrus, a Thracian, who was far advanced in years; and who, of all Pericles's slaves, both from his turn of mind and age, was the least qualified to educate this young Athenian. And indeed Socrates told Alcibiades, that should he make a comparison between him and the youths of Lacedæmonia, who displayed a spirit of valour, a greatness of soul,

* *Abbé Fraguier justifies So-* Mem. of the Academy of Bel-
crates in one of his dissertations. les Letters, Tom. 4. p. 372.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

a strong thirst of glory, a love of labour ; and these heightened by gentleness, modesty, temperance, and a perfect obedience to the laws and discipline of Sparta, he would seem but a child to them. Nevertheless, his high birth, his riches, the great families he was related to, and the credit of his tutor ; all these things had elated him to a prodigious degree. He was vastly fond of himself, and had most men in the utmost contempt. He was preparing to enter on the theatre of publick business ; and, (from his own talk) would quite eclipse the fame and glory of Pericles, and fly and attack the king of Persia, even in his throne. Socrates seeing him going to mount the rostra, in order to give the people some advice relating to the publick affairs ; demonstrates to him, by various questions he asks, and by Alcibiades's answers ; that he is quite ignorant of the subject he is going to speak on, since he had never made it his study. After making Alcibiades confess this, he paints, in the strongest colours, the absurdity of his conduct, and makes him fully sensible of it. What, says Socrates, would Amestris (this was the mother of Artaxerxes who then swayed the Persian scepter) say, were she to hear, that there is a man now in Athens who is meditating war against her son, and even intends to dethrone him. She doubtless would suppose him to be some veteran general, a man of intrepid courage, of great wisdom, and the most consummate experience ; that he is able to raise a mighty army, and march it whithersoever he pleases ; and, at the same time, that he has long before taken the proper measures for putting so vast a design in execution. But were she to hear that there are none of these circumstances, and that the person spoken of, is not twenty years old ; that he is utterly unskilled in state affairs ; has not the least knowledge of war, and no credit

with the citizens or the allies ; would it be possible for her to refrain from laughter at the folly and extravagance of such an enterprize ? This nevertheless, says Socrates (directing himself to Alcibiades) is your picture ; and, unhappily it resembles most men who fill the publick employments. Socrates however, excepts Pericles on this occasion ; his rare merit and exalted reputation being the fruit of the serious study he had made, during a long course of years, of all those sciences which were capable of improving his mind, and of qualifying him for publick employments. Alcibiades could not deny the truth of all these assertions ; he now was ashamed of his conduct, and blushing to see himself so void of merit, he asks how he must act to acquire some. Socrates, being unwilling to discourage his pupil, tells him, that as he is so young, these evils might be remedied. He afterwards instilled the wisest counsels into Alcibiades, who had full leisure to improve by them ; since there were upwards of twenty years between the time of this conversation, and that when he engaged in state affairs.

Alcibiades was of such a flexible cast of mind, as would take any impression which the difference of seasons and junctures might require ; he shaping his mind either to good or evil, with the same ease and ardour ; and shifting almost in an instant from one extreme to its opposite, so that people applied to him what *Homer* observes of the land of Egypt, *That it produces a great number of very excellent medicinal drugs, and likewise many poisons.*

It might be said of Alcibiades, that he was not one single man, but (if so bold an expression might be used) a compound of several men ; either serious or gay ; austere or affable ; an impetuous master, or a groveling slave ; a friend to virtue and to the virtuous, or abandoned to vice and

Quemvis hominem secum attulit ad nos.

Juvenal.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

vicious men ; capable of supporting the most painful fatigues and toils, or insatiably desirous of voluptuous pleasures.

Plut. in
Alcib.
P. 195.

His irregularity and dissolute conduct were become the talk of the whole city ; and Alcibiades would very willingly have put a stop to these reports, but without changing his course of life, as appears by a saying of his. He had a very handsome dog, of a prodigious size, which had cost him threescore and ten minæ, * or three thousand five hundred french livres. By this we find that a fondness for dogs was of great antiquity. Alcibiades caused his tail, which was the greatest beauty he had about him, to be cut off. His friends censured him very much on that account, and said, that the whole city murmured at him, and blamed him very much for spoiling the beauty of so handsome a creature. *This is the very thing I want*, replied Alcibiades with a smile. *I would have the Athenians discourse about what I have done to my dog, in order that this may keep them from other subjects, and from saying worse things of me.*

Τὸ φιλόνο-
μον, καὶ τὸ
φιλόπρωτον
Plut. in
Alcib.
P. 195,
196.

Among the various passions that were discovered in him, the strongest and most prevailing was a haughty turn of mind, which would force all things to submit to it, and could not bear a superior or even an equal. Although his birth and uncommon talents smoothed the way to his attaining the highest employments in the republic ; there yet was nothing to which he was so desirous of owing the credit and authority he wanted to gain over the people, as to the force of his eloquence, and the persuasive grace of his orations. To this his strict intimacy with Socrates might be of great service.

* The attick mina was worth an hundred Drachms, and the Drachm, ten pence, french money.

Alcibiades,

Alcibiades, who, being of such a cast of mind as we have here described, was not born for repose, had set every engine at work to traverse the treaty lately concluded between the two nations; but not succeeding in his attempt, he endeavoured to prevent its taking effect. He was disgusted at the Lacedæmonians, because they directed themselves only to Nicias, of whom they had a very high opinion; and, on the contrary, seemed to take no manner of notice of him, though his ancestors had enjoyed the rights of hospitality among them.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.
A. M.
3584.
Ant. J. C.
420.
Thucyd.
l. 5. p. 368.
— 378.
Plut. in
Alcib.
P. 197,
198.

The first thing he did to infringe the peace was this; having been informed that the people of Argos only wanted an opportunity to break off from the Spartans, whom they equally hated and feared; he flattered them secretly with the hopes that the Athenians would succour them, by suggesting to them that they were ready to break a peace which was no way advantageous to them.

And indeed the Lacedæmonians were not very careful to observe the several conditions of it religiously, they having concluded an alliance with the Bœotians, in direct opposition to the design and tenor of the treaty; and having surrendered up the fort of Panacton to the Athenians, not fortified and in the condition it was in at the concluding of the treaty, as they had stipulated to do, but quite dismantled. Alcibiades observing the Athenians to be extremely exasperated at this breach of faith, did his utmost to exasperate them still more; and taking this opportunity to perplex and anger Nicias, he made him odious to the people, by causing them to entertain a suspicion of his being too strongly attached to the Lacedæmonians; and by charging him with crimes which were not altogether improbable, though they were absolutely false.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

This new attack quite disconcerted Nicias ; but happily for him there arrived, at that very instant, ambassadors from Lacedæmonia, who were invested with full powers to put an end to all the divisions. Being introduced into the council or senate, they set forth their complaints, and made their demands, which every one of the members thought very just and reasonable. The people were to give them audience the next day. Alcibiades, who was afraid they would succeed with them, used his utmost endeavours to engage the ambassadors in a conference with him. He represented to them, that the council always behaved with the utmost moderation and humanity towards those who addressed them ; but that the people were haughty and extravagant in their pretensions ; that should the ambassadors mention full powers, they (the people) would not fail to take advantage of this circumstance, and oblige them to agree to whatever they should take it into their head to ask. He concluded with assuring them, that he would assist them with all his credit, in order to get Pylus restored to them ; to prevent the alliance of the people of Argos, and to get theirs renewed : and he confirmed all these promises with an oath. The ambassadors were extremely well pleased with this conference, and greatly admired the profound policy and vast abilities of Alcibiades, whom they looked upon as an extraordinary man ; and, indeed, they were not mistaken in their conjecture.

On the morrow, the people being assembled, the ambassadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked them, in the mildest terms, the subject of their embassy, and the purport of the powers with which they were invested. They immediately answered, that they were come to propose an accommodation, but were not impowered to conclude any thing. These words were no sooner spoke, but

but Alcibiades exclaims against them; declares ^{DARIUS} them to be treacherous knaves; calls upon the ^{NOTHUS} council as witness, to the speech they had made the night before; and desires the people not to believe or hear men who so impudently advanced falsehoods; and spoke and prevaricated so unaccountably, as to say one thing to day, and the very reverse to morrow.

Words could never express the surprize and affliction with which the ambassadors were seized, who, gazing wildly on one another, could not believe either their eyes or ears. Nicias, who did not know the origin of this insidious stratagem of Alcibiades, could not conceive the motive of this change, and tortured his brain to no purpose to find out the reason of it. The people were that moment going to send for the ambassadors of Argos, in order to conclude the league with them; when, a great earthquake came to the assistance of Nicias, and broke up the assembly. It was with the utmost difficulty he prevailed so far, in that of next day, as to have a stop put to the proceedings, till such time as ambassadors should be sent to Lacedæmonia. Nicias was appointed to head them; but they returned without having done the least good. The Athenians then repented very much their having delivered up, at his persuasion, such prisoners taken by them in the island as were related to the greatest families in Sparta. However, though the people were highly exasperated at Nicias, they yet did not impeach or even reproach him in any manner; but only appointed Alcibiades their general; made a league with the inhabitants of Mantinea and Elis, who had broke off from the Lacedæmonians; there joined the Argivi, and sent troops to Pylus, in order for them to lay waste Laconia. In this manner they again involved themselves in the war which they were desirous of avoiding.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.
In Alcib.
p. 198.

Plutarch, after giving the relation of Alcibiades's intrigue, says as follows: "No one can approve the methods he employed to succeed in his design; however, it was a master-stroke, to thus disunite and shake almost every part of Peloponnesus; and raise up, in one day, so many enemies against the Lacedæmonians." In my opinion, this is too soft a censure of so knavish and perfidious an action, which, how successful soever it might have been, could not but appear infamous to all good men, and as such be detested by them.

Plut. in
Alcib. p.
196, 197.
In Nic.
p. 530,
531.

There was in Athens a citizen, Hyperbolus by name, a very wicked man, whom the comic poets generally made the object of their raillery and invectives. He was hardened in evil, and become insensible to infamy, by his crazing all sentiments of honour, which argued a soul of the darkest cast, and absolutely lost to virtue. Hyperbolus was not agreeable to any one; and yet the people made use of him, to humble those in high stations, and bring them into trouble. Two citizens, Nicias and Alcibiades, shared at that time all the authority in Athens. The dissolute life of the latter shocked the Athenians, who likewise, at the same time, dreaded his fiery temper. On the other side, Nicias, by always opposing, without the least reserve, their unjust desires; and by obliging them to take the most useful measures, was become very odious to them. One would have imagined that, as the people were thus alienated from both, they would not have failed to put the ostracism in force against one of them. Of the two parties which prevailed at that time in the city; one, which consisted of the young men who panted for war, the other of the old men who were desirous of peace; the former endeavoured to procure the banishment of Nicias, and the latter of Alcibiades. Hyperbolus, whose only merit was his impudence,

in the hopes of succeeding, which soever of them should be removed; declared openly against them, and was eternally exasperating the people against both. However, the two factions being afterwards reconciled, he himself was banished by (and put an end to) the ostracism, which seemed to have been demeaned, in being employed against a man of so base a character; for hitherto there was a kind of honour and dignity annexed to this punishment. Hyperbolus was therefore the last who was sentenced by the ostracism; as Hipparchus, a near relation of Pisistratus the tyrant, had been the first.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

S E C T. V.

Alcibiades involves the Athenians in the war of Sicily.

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH YEARS
OF THE WAR.

I PASS over several inconsiderable events, to Thucyd. hasten to the relation of that of the greatest importance, viz. the expedition made by the Athenians into Sicily, to which they were especially excited by Alcibiades. This is the XVIth year of the Peloponnesian war.

l. 8. p.
350—409
A. M.
3588.
Ant. J. C.
416.

Alcibiades had gained a surprizing ascendant over the minds of the people, though they were perfectly well acquainted with his character. For his great qualities were blended with still greater vices, which he did not take the least pains to conceal. He was for ever immersed in the utmost excess of luxury; and led such an effeminate and dissolute life, as was a scandal to the city. Nothing was seen in his palace but festivals, rejoicings, and riotous carouzals. He shewed very little regard to the customs of his country, and less to religion and the gods. All persons of sense and

Plut. in
Alcib. p.
198—200
In Nic.
p. 531.

DARIUS judgment, besides the strong aversion they had to
NOTHUS. these irregular proceedings, dreaded exceedingly
 the consequences of this audaciousness, this pro-
 fusion, and utter contempt of the laws, which they
 considered as so many steps by which Alcibiades
 would rise to tyrannical power.

The Frogs.
Act 5.
Scene 4.

Aristophanes, in one of his comedies, shows ad-
 mirably well, in a single verse, how the minds of
 the people were disposed towards him; *They hate*
Alcibiades, says he, *and yet cannot do without him.*
 And indeed, the prodigious sums he squandered on
 the people; the pompous games and shows he ex-
 hibited to please them; the rich gifts, which ex-
 ceed all belief, he bestowed on the city; the grace
 and beauty of his whole person; his eloquence,
 his bodily strength, joined to his courage and ex-
 perience; in a word, this assemblage of great qua-
 lities made the Athenians wink at his faults, and
 bear them patiently; they, on all occasions, en-
 deavoured to lessen and screen them under soft and
 favourable names; they calling them sports and
 polite pastimes; and affirming, that they were
 an indication of his humanity and good nature.

But Timon the man-hater, though so very sa-
 vage, he yet formed a better judgment of this
 conduct of Alcibiades. Meeting him one day as
 he was coming out of the assembly, vastly pleased
 at his having been gratified in all his demands,
 and to see the greatest honours paid him by
 the people in general, who were attending him
 in crouds to his house: so far from shunning him
 as he did all other men, he, on the contrary, ran
 to meet him, when stretching out his hand to him
 in a friendly way; *Courage, my son*, says he, *thou dost*
right in pushing thy fortune, for thy advancement will
be the ruin of the Athenians. The war of Sicily
 will show that Timon was not mistaken.

The Athenians, ever since the time of Pericles, ^{DARIUS} had meditated the conquest of Sicily. ^{NOTHUS.} However, that wise leader had always endeavoured to check this ambitious and wild project. He used frequently to inculcate to them, that by living in peace, by looking after their navy, by contenting themselves with the conquests they had already achieved, and by not engaging in hazardous enterprises; they would raise their city to a flourishing condition, and be for ever superiour to their enemies. The authority he had at that time over the people, though it kept them from invading Sicily, it yet could not suppress the desire they had to conquer it, and their eyes were ever fixed on that island. Some time after Pericles's ^{Diod. l. 12. p. 99.} death, the Leontini, being invaded by the Syracusians, had sent a deputation to Athens, requesting succour. They were originally of Chalcis, an Athenian colony. The deputies were headed by Gorgias, a famous rhetorician, who was reputed the most eloquent man of the age. His elegant, flowry diction, heightened by shining figures which he first employed, won over the Athenians, who were prodigiously affected with the beauties and charms of eloquence. Accordingly the alliance was concluded, and they sent ships to Rhegium, to succour the Leontini. The year following they sent a greater number. Two years after they sent a new fleet, which was a little stronger than the former; but the Sicilians having put an end to all their divisions, by the advice of Hermocrates, the fleet was sent back; and the Athenians, not being able to prevail with themselves to pardon their generals for not conquering Sicily, sent two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, into banishment; and sentenced the third, who was Eurymedon, to pay a heavy fine; their prosperity having blinded them to so prodigious a degree, that they were persuaded no power was able to resist them. They

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

They made several attempts afterwards; and, upon pretence of sending, from time to time, arms and soldiers to such cities as were unjustly treated or oppressed by the Syracusans, they, by that means were preparing to invade them with a greater force.

But he who most inflamed this ardor was Alcibiades, by his feeding the people with splendid hopes, with which he himself was for ever filled, or rather intoxicated. He was every night, in his dreams, taking Carthage, subduing Africa, crossing from thence into Italy, and possessing himself of all Peloponnesus; looking upon Sicily, not as the scope and end of this war, but as the beginning and the first step of the exploits he revolved in his mind. He had the favour of all the citizens, who, without enquiring seriously into matters, were enchanted with the mighty hopes he gave them. This expedition was the only topick of all conversations. The young men, in the places where the publick exercises were performed, and the old men in their shops and elsewhere, were employed in nothing but in drawing the plan of Sicily; in discoursing on the nature and quality of the sea with which it is surrounded; on its good harbours, and flat shores towards Africa: For these people, infatuated by the speeches of Alcibiades, were (like him) persuaded, that they should make Sicily only their place of arms and their arsenal, whence they should set out and conquer Carthage, and make themselves masters of all Africa and the sea, quite to Hercules's pillars.

Plut. in
Alcib.
p. 199.
In Nic.
p. 532.

It is related that neither Socrates or Methon the astronomer, believed that this enterprize would be successful; the former, being inspired, as he would make the world believe, by his familiar spirit, who always warned him of the evils with which he was menaced; and the other, directed by his reason
and

and good sense, which pointing out to him, those things he had to fear in times to come, prompted him to act the madman on this occasion; and to ask, why, considering the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, the Athenians did not force away his son, and oblige him to carry arms?

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

S E C T. VI.

Enumeration of the different people who inhabited Sicily.

BEFORE I enter on the relation of the war of Sicily, it will not be improper to draw a plan of the country, and of the nations who inhabited it: Thucydides begins in the same manner.

It was first inhabited by the Lestrygonæ and the Cyclopes, of whom we do not know any particulars, except what we are told by the poets. The most antient, after these, were the Sicani, who called themselves the original inhabitants of this country, though they are thought to have come into it from Spain, they inhabiting near a river called Sicanus, whose name they gave to the island, which before was called Trinacria: these people were afterwards confined to the western part of the island. Some Trojans, after the burning of their city, came and settled near them, and built Erix and * Egesta, who all assumed the name of Elymæi; and were afterwards joined by some inhabitants of Phocis, at their return from the siege of Troy. Those who are properly called Sicilians, came from Italy in very great numbers; and having won a considerable victory over the Sicani, confined them to a corner of their island, about three hundred years before the arrival of the Greeks; and in Thucydides's time, they still inhabited the

Thucyd.
l. 6. p.
410—413

* It is called Segesta by the Romans.

DARIUS middle part of the island and the northern coast:
NOTHUS. From them the island was called Sicily. The Phoenicians likewise spread themselves along the coast, and in the little islands which border it, for the conveniency of trade: but after that the Greeks began to settle there, they retired into the country of the Elymæi, in order to be nearer Carthage, and abandoned the rest. It was in this manner that the Barbarians first settled in Sicily.

A. M.

3294.

Ant. J. C.

710.

With regard to the Greeks, the first people who crossed into the last-mentioned island were the Chalcidenses of Eubœa, headed by Theocles who founded Naxos. The year after, which, according to Dionysius Halicarnassæus, was the third of the XVIIth Olympiad, Archias the Corinthian laid the foundations of Syracuse. Seven years after, the Chalcidenses founded Leontium and Catana, after having drove out the inhabitants of the country, who were the Sicilians. Other Greeks, who came from Megara a city of Achaia, about the same time, founded Megara, called Hyblæa, or barely Hybla, from Hyblon a Sicilian king, by whose permission they settled in his dominions. It is well known that the Hyblæan honey was very famous among the antients. An hundred years after, the inhabitants of that city built Selinonta. Gela, built on a river of the same name, forty five years after the founding of Syracuse, founded Agrigentum about eight hundred and eight years after. Zancle, called afterwards Messana or Messene, by Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium, who was of Messene a city of Peloponnesus, had various founders, and in different periods. The Zancleans built the city of Himera; the Syracusans built Acre, Casmene, and Camarina. These are most of the nations, whether Greeks or Barbarians, who settled in Sicily.

S E C T. VII.

The people of Egesta implore the succour of the Athenians. Nicias opposes, but to no purpose, the war of Sicily. Alcibiades prevails over him. They both are appointed generals with Lamachus.

ATHERNS was in the state and disposition A. M. 3588.
we before took notice of, when ambassadors Ant. J. C. 416.
were sent from the people of Egesta, who, in Thucyd. 1.6. p. 413
quality of their allies, came to implore their suc- —415.
cour against the inhabitants of Selinunta, who Diod. 1.12. p. 129,
were assisted by the Syracusans. It was the six- 130.
teenth year of the Peloponnesian war. They re- Plut. in Alcib. p. 200.
presented, among other particulars, that should In Nic. p. 531.
they be abandoned, the Syracusans, after seizing
upon their city as they had done that of Leon-
tium, would possess themselves of all Sicily, and
not fail to succour the Peloponnesians who were
their founders; and, that they might put them
to as little charge as possible, they offered to
pay the troops that should be sent to succour
them. The Athenians, who had long waited for
an opportunity to declare themselves, sent depu-
ties to Egesta to enquire into the state of things,
and to see whether there was money enough in the
treasury, to defray the expence of so mighty a
war. The inhabitants of that city had been so
artful, as to borrow from the neighbouring na-
tions a great number of gold and silver vases,
worth an immense sum of money; and of these
they made a vain show when the Athenians were
arrived. The deputies returned with those of A. M. 3589.
Egesta, who brought threescore talents, in ingots, Ant. J. C. 415.
as a month's pay due to the crew of sixty gal-
lies which they demanded; and a promise of larger
sums which, they assured, were ready both in the
publick treasury and in the temples. The people,
struck

DARIUS struck with this glaring appearance of things, the
NOTHUS. truth of which they did not give themselves the
 leisure to examine ; and seduced by the advantage-
 ous report which their deputies made, in the view
 of pleasing them ; immediately gratified the inha-
 bitants of Egesta in their demands, and appoint-
 ed Alcibiades, Nicias and Lamachus to command
 the fleet ; with full power, not only to succour
 Egesta, and restore the inhabitants of Leontium
 to their city ; but also to regulate the affairs of
 Sicily, in such a manner as might be for the in-
 terest of the republick.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals, to his
 very great regret ; for, besides other motives
 which made him dread that post, he shunned it
 because Alcibiades was to be his colleague. But
 the Athenians promised themselves greater success
 from this war, should they not resign the whole
 conduct of it to Alcibiades, but temper his ardor
 and intrepidity with the coldness and wisdom of
 Nicias.

Thucyd.
 l.6.p.415,
 —428. Five days after, to hasten the execution of the
 decree, and make the several preparations neces-
 sary, a second assembly was held. Nicias, who
 had had time enough to reflect deliberately on
 the affair proposed, and was still better convinced
 of the difficulties and dangers which would ensue
 from it ; thought himself obliged, to speak with
 some vehemence against a project, the consequences
 of which he foresaw might be very fatal to the re-
 publick. He said, “ That it was surprizing so im-
 “ portant an affair, should have been determined,
 “ the moment almost after it was debated upon :
 “ That without once enquiring into matters, they
 “ had given credit to whatever was told them by
 “ a parcel of foreigners, who were very lavish of
 “ their promises ; and whose interest it was to
 “ offer mighty things, to extricate themselves
 “ from their imminent danger. After all, what
 “ advantage

“ advantage (says he) can accrue from thence to ^{DARIUS}
“ the republick? Have we so few enemies at our ^{NOTHUS.}
“ doors, that we need go in search of others at
“ a distance from us? Will you act wisely, in
“ hazarding your present possessions, on the vain
“ hopes of an uncertain advantage? To medi-
“ tate new conquests, before you have secured
“ your antient ones? To study nothing but the
“ aggrandizing of your state, and quite neglect
“ your own safety? Can you depend in any
“ manner on a truce, which you yourselves
“ know to hang by a thread; which you are sen-
“ sible has been infringed more than once; and
“ which, the least defeat on our side, may sud-
“ denly change into an open war? You are not
“ ignorant how the Lacedæmonians have always
“ been, and still continue, disposed with regard
“ to us. They detest our government as being
“ contrary to theirs; it is with grief and disdain
“ they see us possessed of the empire of Greece;
“ they consider our glory as their shame and con-
“ fusion; and there is nothing they would not
“ attempt, to humble a power which excites their
“ jealousy, and keeps them perpetually in fear.
“ These are our real enemies, and it is they we
“ ought to guard against. Will it be a proper
“ season to make these reflections, when (after
“ having divided our troops, and at a time that
“ our arms will be employed elsewhere, and un-
“ able to resist them,) we shall be attacked at
“ once by all the forces of Peloponnesus? We
“ do but just begin to breathe, after the cala-
“ mities in which war and the plague had involved
“ us; and we are now going to plunge our selves in
“ a greater danger. If we are ambitious of carrying
“ our arms into distant countries, would it not be
“ more expedient to march and reduce the re-
“ bels of Thrace, and other nations who are
“ still wavering, and not yet fixed in their alle-
“ giance,

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

“ giance, than to fly to the succour of the in-
 “ habitants of Egesta, about whose welfare we
 “ ought to be very indifferent? And will it suit
 “ our interest, to attempt to revenge their inju-
 “ ries, at a time that we do not discover the
 “ least resentment for those we our selves receive?
 “ Let us leave the Sicilians to themselves, and
 “ not engage in their quarrels, which it is their
 “ business to decide. As the inhabitants of Egesta
 “ undertook the war without us, let them extri-
 “ cate themselves from it as well as they can.
 “ Should any of our generals advise you to this
 “ enterprize, from an ambitious or self-interested
 “ view; merely to make a vain parade of his
 “ splendid equipages, or to raise money to sup-
 “ port his extravagance; be not guilty of so
 “ much imprudence as to sacrifice the interest of
 “ the republick to his; or permit him, to in-
 “ volve it in the same ruin with himself. An en-
 “ terprize of so much importance ought not to
 “ be committed wholly to the conduct of a young
 “ man. Remember it is prudence, not prejudice
 “ and passion, that gives success to affairs.” Ni-
 cias concluded with declaring it as his opinion,
 that it would be proper to debate again on the
 matter in hand, to prevent the fatal consequences
 with which their taking rash resolutions might be
 attended.

It was plain he had Alcibiades in view, and
 that his horrid luxury was the object of his cen-
 sure. And indeed he carried it to an incredible
 height; and lavished prodigious sums of money,
 on horses, on equipages and moveables; not to
 mention the delicacy and sumptuousness of his ta-
 ble. He contested for the prize in the olym-
 pic games with seven sets of chariot horses,
 which no private man had ever done before him;
 and he was crowned more than once on that oc-
 casion. Extraordinary resources were necessary
 for

for supporting this uncommonly-luxurious way of ^{DARIUS} living ; and as avarice often serves as a resource ^{NOTHUS.} to ambition, there were some grounds to believe, that Alcibiades was as sollicitous of conquering Sicily and Carthage, (which he pretended to possess afterwards as his own) to enrich his family, as to cover it with glory. The reader will naturally suppose, that Alcibiades did not let this speech of Nicias go unanswered.

“ This, says Alcibiades, is not the first time
 “ that merit has excited jealousy, and glory
 “ been made the object of envy. That very
 “ thing which is imputed to me for a crime, is,
 “ I will presume to say it, the honour of my
 “ country, and ought to gain me applause. The
 “ splendor in which I live ; the great sums I ex-
 “ pend, particularly in the publick assemblies ;
 “ besides their being just and lawful, they at the
 “ same time give foreigners a greater Idea of the
 “ glory of Athens ; and show, that it is not in
 “ such want of money as our enemies imagine.
 “ But this is not our present business. Let the
 “ world form a judgment of me, not from pas-
 “ sion and prejudice, but from my actions. Was
 “ it an inconsiderable service I did the republick,
 “ in winning over, (in one day) to its alliance,
 “ the people of Elis, of Mantinea and of Argos,
 “ that is, the chief forces of Peloponnesus ? Make
 “ use therefore, to aggrandize your empire, of
 “ Alcibiades’s youth and folly, (since his enemies
 “ give it that name,) as well as of the wisdom
 “ and experience of Nicias ; and do not repent,
 “ from vain and idle fears, your engaging in an en-
 “ terprize that is publicly resolved upon, and
 “ which may redound infinitely both to your
 “ glory and advantage. The cities of Sicily, tired
 “ with the unjust and cruel government of their
 “ princes, and still more with the tyrannical au-
 “ Vol. III. F f thority

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

“thority which Syracuse exercises over them ;
 “wait only for a favourable opportunity to de-
 “clare themselves ; and are ready to open their
 “gates to whomsoever shall offer to take off the
 “yoke under which they have so long groaned.
 “Though the citizens of Egesta, in quality of
 “your allies, should not have a right to your
 “protection ; yet the glory of Athens ought to
 “engage you to support them. Republicks ag-
 “grandize themselves, by succouring the oppres-
 “sed, and not by living unactive. In the present
 “state of your affairs, the only way to dispirit
 “your enemies, and show that you are not afraid
 “of them, will be, to harraßs one nation, to
 “check the progress of another, to keep them
 “all employed, and carry your arms to distant
 “countries. Athens was not formed for ease ;
 “and it was not by inactivity that your ancestors
 “raised it to the height in which we now see it.
 “By the way, what hazards will you run by en-
 “gaging in the enterprize in question ? If it should
 “be crowned with success, you will then possess
 “yourselves of all Greece ; and should it not an-
 “swer your expectations, your fleet will give
 “you an opportunity of retiring whenever you
 “please. The Lacedæmonians indeed may make
 “an incursion into our country ; but, besides
 “that it would not be in our power to prevent
 “it, though we should not invade Sicily ; we still
 “shall preserve the empire of the sea, in spite of
 “them ; a circumstance which makes our enemies
 “quite despair of their ever being able to conquer
 “us. Be not therefore byassed by Nicias’s rea-
 “sons. The only tendency of them is to sow the
 “seeds of discord between the young and old
 “men, who can do nothing without one a-
 “nother ; } since it is wisdom and courage, coun-
 “sel and execution, that give success to all en-
 “terprizes :

“terprizes[†] and this in which we are going to DARIUS
“imbark, cannot but turn to your advantage.” NOTHUS

The Athenians, flattered and pleased with Alcibiades's speech, persisted in their first opinion. Plut. in præc. de ger. rep. p. 802. Nicias, on the other side, did not depart from his ; but at the same time he did not dare to oppose Alcibiades any further. Nicias was naturally of a soft and timid disposition. He was not, like Pericles, master of that lively and vehement eloquence, which rushes along like a torrent, and forces down all things in its way. And indeed, the latter, on several occasions and at several times, had always checked the wild starts of the populace, who even then, meditated the expedition into Sicily ; because he was ever resolutely invariable, and never loosened the reins of that authority and sort of empire which he had obtained over the minds of men ; whereas * Nicias, by his both acting and speaking in an easy, gentle manner ; so far from winning over the people, suffered himself to be forcibly and involuntarily drawn away from the truth : and accordingly he at last yielded to the people, and accepted the command in a war which he plainly foresaw would be attended with the most fatal consequences.

It is Plutarch who makes this reflexion in his excellent treatise, where, speaking of the qualities requisite in a statesman, he shows how very necessary eloquence and a strength of mind are to him.

Nicias, not daring to oppose Alcibiades any longer openly, endeavoured to do it indirectly, by starting a great number of difficulties, drawn especially from the greatness which this expedition would necessarily cost. He declared, that since they

* Καθάπερ ἀμολῶν χαλῶν τῶ λόγῳ πιμνόμεθ' ἀποσείφω τ' δῆμον, ἢ κατίγω.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

were resolved upon war, they ought to carry it on in such a manner as might suit the exalted reputation to which Athens had attained : That a fleet was not sufficient to oppose so formidable a power as that of the Syracusans and their allies : that they must raise an army, composed of stout horse and foot, if they were desirous of acting in a manner worthy of so grand a design : That besides their fleet, which was to gain them the empire of the seas, they must have a great number of transports, to carry provisions perpetually to the army, which otherwise could not possibly subsist in an enemy's country : That they must carry vast sums of money with them, without waiting for that promised them by the citizens of Egesta, who perhaps were ready in words only, and very probably might break their promise : That they ought to weigh and examine the disparity there was between themselves and their enemies with regard to the wants of the army ; the Syracusans being in their own country, in the midst of powerful allies, who were prompted by inclination as well as engaged by self-interest, to assist them with men, arms, horses and provisions ; whereas the Athenians would carry on war in a far-distant country which was possessed by their enemies, where, in the winter, news could not be brought them under four months time ; a country, where all things would oppose the Athenians, and nothing be procured but by force of arms : That it would reflect the greatest ignominy on the Athenians, should they be forced to lay aside their enterprize ; and thereby become the scorn and contempt of their enemies, by their neglecting to take all the precautions which so important a design required : That as for himself, he was determined not to go, unless he was provided with all things necessary for the expedition, because the safety of the whole army depended

pended on that circumstance ; and that he would not rely on caprice, or the promises of the allies. DARIUS NOTHUS.

Nicias had flattered himself; that this speech would cool the ardor of the people, whereas it only enflamed it the more. Immediately the generals had full powers given them, to raise as many troops, and fit out as many gallies as they might think necessary ; and the levies were accordingly carried on, in Athens and other places, with inexpressible activity. Diod. l. 13. p. 134.

S E C T VIII.

The Athenians prepare to set sail. Sinister omens. The statues of Mercury are mutilated. Alcibiades being impeached, insists upon his being tried, but his request is not granted. Triumphant departure of the fleet.

WHEN all things were ready for their departure, and the sails already hoisted, there happened several melancholy, ominous signs, which filled the minds of the people with trouble and disquietude. The * women were at that time celebrating the festival of Adonis, during which the whole city was in mourning, full of images representing dead persons and funeral processions ; and every part echoed with the cries and groans of the women who followed them with floods of tears : whence it was feared, that this gay and magnificent armament would soon lose all its splendor, and † wither away like a flower. An. M. 3589. Ant. J. C. 415. Thucyd. 1.6 p. 428. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200, 201.

* This superstitious rite had the Hebrews calling Adonis by that name.

And behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz, Ezek. viii. 14. N. B. The French version of the bible, which Mr. Rolin follows, says, weeping for Adonis ; which is the same as Tammuz.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

The general affliction was increased by another accident. The statues of Mercury, which stood at the entrance of private houses and temples, were all mutilated in one night, and particularly in the face ; and although a great reward was promised to any person who should discover the contrivers of this bold attempt, yet no one was impeached. The citizens could not forbear considering this uncommon event, not only as an unlucky omen, but likewise as a contrivance of some factious men, who harboured very ill designs. Some young people had already been accused of committing much the like crime in the midst of their cups ; and particularly of having wantonly mimicked the ceremonies and mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine ; with Alcibiades, who represented the high-priest, at their head. It highly concerns all those in exalted stations, to be extremely careful of every step they take ; and not to give the least opportunity to the most inveterate malice to censure them. They ought to call to mind, says Plutarch, that the eyes of all men are fixed on their conduct, and that they are ever eagle-ey'd on these occasions ; that not only their outward actions pass the most severe scrutiny, but that they penetrate to their most private apartments, and there take the strictest notice of their discourses, their diversions, and the most secret things transacted by them. It was this dread of the piercing eye of the people, that kept Themistocles and Pericles perpetually on their guard ; and obliged them to refrain from most of those pleasures in which others indulged themselves.

Plut. in
præc. de
rep. p. 800.

As for Alcibiades, he did not know what it was to put a restraint upon himself in any manner ; and accordingly, as his character was so well known, people were persuaded he very probably had been concerned in the late riot. His luxury, his dissoluteness and impiety, gave an air
of

of probability to this charge, and the accuser ^{DARIUS} was not afraid of telling his name. This attack ^{NOTHUS.} staggered the constancy and resolution of Alcibiades; but hearing the soldiers and sailors declare that they were prompted to engage in this expedition from no other motive but their affection to Alcibiades; and that, should the least injury be done him, they would all leave the service; he took heart, and appeared at his tryal on the day appointed for that purpose. His enemies, upon pretence that it was necessary for the fleet to set sail, got the judgment superseded. It was to no purpose for Alcibiades to insist upon being tried, in case he was guilty, and not be ruined in his absence; and to represent, that it would be the most shocking and barbarous injustice to oblige him to embark for so important an expedition, without first making due enquiry into the accusations and horrid slanders which were cast upon him, the bare thoughts of which would keep him in perpetual fear and uneasiness. However, none of these remonstrances proved effectual, and the fleet was ordered to set out.

They were prepared to set sail, after having appointed Corcyra the rendezvous for most of the allies, and such ships as were to carry the provisions, &c. All the citizens, as well as foreigners in Athens, flocked by day-break to the port of Piræus. The former attended on their children, relations, friends or companions, with a joy overcast with a little sorrow; upon their bidding adieu to persons that were as dear to them as life, and who were setting out on a far distant and very dangerous expedition, from which it was uncertain whether they ever would return, though their kindred flattered themselves with the hopes that it would be successful. The foreigners were come thither to feed their eyes with a sight which was highly worthy their curiosity; for no single city

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

in the world had ever fitted out so gallant a fleet. Those indeed which had been sent against Epidaurus and Potidæa, were as considerable with regard to the number of soldiers and ships; but then they were not equipped with so much magnificence, neither was their voyage so long, nor their enterprise so important. Here were seen a land and a naval army, provided with the utmost care, and at the expence of particular persons as well as of the publick, with all things necessary, on account of the length of the voyage, and the duration of the war. The city furnished an hundred empty gallies, that is, threescore light ones, and forty to transport the soldiers heavily armed. Every sailor received daily a drachm or ten-pence (French) for his pay, exclusive of what the captains of ships gave to the * chief rowers. Add to this, the pomp and magnificence that was displayed universally; every one striving to eclipse the rest, and each captain endeavouring to make his ship the lightest, and at the same time the gayest in the whole fleet. I shall not take notice of the choice which was made of the soldiers and sailors, they being the flower of the Athenians; nor of their emulation with regard to the beauty and neatness of their arms and equipage; any more than of their officers who had laid out considerable sums purely to distinguish themselves, and to give foreigners an advantageous idea of their persons and circumstances; so that this sight had the air of a tournament, in which the utmost magnificence is displayed, rather than of a warlike expedition. But the boldness and greatness of the design still exceeded its expence and splendor.

When the ships were loaded, and the troops got on board, the trumpet sounded, and solemn prayers

* They were called *thavisi*. They had longer ears than the rest, and consequently more trouble in rowing.

were offered up for the success of the expedition ; ^{DARIUS} gold and silver cups were filling every where with ^{NOTHUS.} wine, and the accustomed libations were poured out ; the people who lined the shore shouting at the same time, and lifting up their hands to heaven, to wish their fellow-citizens a good voyage and success. And now, the hymn being sung, and the ceremonies ended, the ships sailed, one after another, out of the harbour ; after which they strove to outfail one another, till the whole fleet met at Ægina. From thence it made for Corcyra, where the ships of the allies were rendezvousing with the rest of the fleet.

S E C T. IX.

Syracuse is alarmed. The Athenian fleet arrives in Sicily.

ADVICE of this expedition coming to Sy- ^{Thucyd.}racuse from all quarters, it was thought so l 6. p. improbable, that no one there would give credit ⁴³²⁻⁴⁴⁵ to it. But as it was more and more confirmed e- ^{Diod. l. 13,}very day, the Syracusans began to think seriously ^{p. 135, 136} of making the requisite preparations ; and sent deputations to every part of the island, to ask assistance of some, and send succours to others. They garrisoned all the castles and forts in the country ; reviewed all the soldiers and horses ; examined the arms in the arsenals ; and settled and prepared all things, as though the enemy had been in their country.

In the mean time the fleet, divided into three squadrons, each under the command of its particular general, set sail. It consisted of an hundred and thirty six ships, an hundred whereof belonged to Athens, and the rest to the allies. On board these ships were five thousand soldiers heavily armed, two thousand two hundred of whom were Athenian

DARIUS Athenian citizens, *viz.* fifteen hundred of those
NOTHUS. who had estates, and seven hundred * who had none,
 but were equally citizens; the rest consisted of allies. With regard to the light infantry, there were eighty bowmen of Crete, and four hundred of other countries; seven hundred Rhodian slingers, and an hundred and twenty Megarenian exiles. There was but one company of horse, consisting of thirty troopers, who had embarked on board a vessel proper for transporting cavalry. Both the fleet and the land-forces were afterwards increased considerably. Thirty vessels carried the provisions and cooks, with masons, carpenters, and their several tools; the whole followed by an hundred small vessels for the service, exclusive of merchant-ships, of which there were great numbers. All this fleet had sailed together for Corcyra. Having met with but an indifferent reception from the people of Tarentum and Locris, they sailed with a favourable wind for Rhegium, where they made some stay. The Athenians were very urgent with the inhabitants of Rhegium to succour those of Leontium, who came originally from Chalcis as well as themselves: but these answered, that they were determined to stand neuter, and to undertake nothing but in concert with the rest of Italy. There they debated on the manner in which this war should be carried on, and waited for the coming up of those ships that had been sent out upon the discovery; in order to see for some landing place, and to enquire whether the citizens of Egesta had got their money ready. Being returned, they declared, that there were but thirty talents in the treasury. This Nicias had foreseen, but no regard had been paid to his salutary counsels.

* These were called *ἑταῖροι*.

He did not fail, the instant this news was brought, to expatiate on the counsel he had given in Athens; to show the wrong step they had taken in engaging in this war, and to amplify the fatal consequences which might be expected from it; in all which he acted very imprudently. It was extremely judicious in Nicias to oppose it in the beginning, and to set every engine at work to crush if possible this ill-fated project. But as it was resolved upon, and he himself had accepted of the command, he ought not to be perpetually looking backward, by incessantly declaring, that this war had been undertaken in opposition to all the maxims of prudence; and, by that means, to dishearten his two colleagues in the command, to dispirit the soldiers, and blunt that edge of confidence and ardor, which give success to the greatest achievements. The Athenians, on the contrary, ought to have advanced boldly towards the enemy; should have attacked them with vigour, and have spread an universal terror, by a sudden and unexpected onset.

But Nicias acted in a quite different manner. His opinion, in the council of war, was, that they should sail for Selinunta, which had first been the occasion of this expedition; and then, if the citizens of Egesta performed their promise, and gave a month's pay to the army, to proceed forward; or otherwise, to oblige them to furnish provisions for the sixty galleys they had demanded, and continue in that road till they should have concluded a peace between the citizens of Selinunta, either by force of arms or some other way. He said, that they afterwards should return to Athens, after having thus made a parade of their forces, and the succours they gave their allies; unless they should have an opportunity of making some attempt in favour of the Leontini, or of winning over some city to their alliance.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.
Fut. in
Nic. p.
532.

DARIUS
NOTHIUS.

Aleibiades answered, that it would be inglorious, after their sailing out with so noble a fleet, to return without atchieving the least conquest; and that they should first endeavour to conclude an alliance with the Greeks and Barbarians, in order to detach them from the Syracusans, and procure troops and provisions from them; and especially to send a deputation to Messina, which was a kind of key to Sicily, and its harbour capacious enough to hold all the fleet. He declared farther, that after seeing who were their friends and who their enemies, and strengthened themselves by the addition of a new reinforcement, they then should attack either Selinunta or Syracuse; in case the one should refuse to conclude a peace with Egosta, and the other not permit the Leontini to return to their city.

Lamachus offered a third opinion, which perhaps was the most prudent; and this was, to sail directly for Syracuse, before its citizens had time to recover from their surprize, or prepare for their defence. He observed, that the sudden arrival of an armed force always strikes the greatest terror; and that when enemies are allowed time to reflect and make preparations, it also revives their courage; whereas, when they are suddenly attacked, and still in confusion, they are generally overcome; that as they would be masters of the open country, they should not be in want of any thing, but on the contrary, would oblige the Sicilians to join with one or other of the parties: That at last they should settle in Megara, which was quite desert, and a near neighbour to Syracuse, and there lay up their fleet in safety. However, his counsel not being followed, he agreed to that of Alcibiades: Accordingly they sailed for Sicily, where Alcibiades took Catana by surprize.

SECT. X.

Alcibiades is recalled. He flies, and is sentenced to die as an outlaw. He retires to Sparta. Flexibility of his genius and disposition.

THIS was the first and last exploit performed by Alcibiades in this expedition, he being immediately recalled by the Athenians, in order to take his tryal. For, ever since the departure of the fleet, his enemies, who had no regard to the welfare of their country; and who, upon the specious pretence of religion, which often is made a cloak to cover the darkest designs, meditated nothing but the satiating of their hatred and vengeance; his enemies, I say, taking advantage of his absence, had carried on his prosecution with greater vigour than ever. All those against whom informations were lodged, were thrown into prison, without so much as being suffered to be heard, and that too on the evidence of the most profligate and abandoned citizens; as though, says Thucydides, it was not as a great a crime to punish the innocent, as to suffer the guilty to escape. One of the informers was proved to be perjured by his own words; he vouching, that he saw and knew one of the accusers by moon-light; whereas it appeared, that there was no moon at that time. But notwithstanding this manifest perjury, still the populace were as furious as ever. The remembrance of the tyranny of the Pisistratides made them apprehensive of the like fate; and being strongly possessed with this fear, they would not give ear to any thing.

At last, they sent out the * ship of Salamis, ordering the captain not to carry off Alcibiades by

* This was a sacred vessel, appointed to fetch criminals.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

force, for fear of raising a tumult in the army ; but only to order him to return to Athens, to pacify the people by his presence. Alcibiades obeyed the order, and went immediately on board his galley ; but the instant he was arrived at Thurium, and had got on shore, he disappeared, and eluded the pursuit of those who sought after him. Being asked, whether he would not rely on his country, with regard to the judgment it might pass on him : “ I would not,” says he, “ rely on my mother, for fear lest she should inadvertently mistake a * black bean for a white one.” Thus the galley of Salamis returned back without the captain, who was ashamed at his having suffered his prey to escape him in that manner. Alcibiades was sentenced to die as an outlaw. His whole estate was confiscated, and all priests and priestesses were commanded to curse him. Among the latter was one Theano, who alone had the courage to oppose this decree, saying, † *That she had been appointed priestess, not to curse but to bless.* Some time after, news being brought her that the Athenians had sentenced her to die, *I will prove to them,* says she, *that I am alive.*

Joseph.
contr.
App.

Diod.l.13.
p. 137.

Much about this time Diagoras of Melia was prosecuted at Athens. He had settled himself in the latter city, and there taught atheism, and was prosecuted on that account. Diagoras escaped the punishment which would have been inflicted on him, by flying from the city ; but he could not wipe away the ignominy of the sentence which condemned him to death. The Athenians had so great an abhorrence of the impious principles inculcated by him, that they even set a price upon his head, and promised a reward of a talent to any man who should bring him dead or alive.

* The judges made use of beans in pronouncing their opinion, and the black bean denoted condemnation.

† Φάρμακον ἐν ἡλῶν ἐν κατὰ τὴν ἱερῶν γυναικῶν.

About twenty years before, a like prosecution had been carried on against Protagoras, for having only treated on matter as doubtful. He had said in the beginning of one of his books : “ If the gods do or do not exist, is a question which I know not whether I ought to affirm or deny : for our understandings are too much clouded, and the life of man is too short, to clear up so nice and difficult a point.” But the Athenians could not bare to have a subject of this nature doubted of ; and for this reason, they ordered proclamation to be made by the publick cryer, for all persons who had any copies of this book, to bring them to the magistrates : after which they were burnt as infamous pieces, and the author was banished, for ever, from all the territories of the Athenians.

Diagoras and Protagoras had been the disciples of Democritus, who first invented the philosophy of atoms. I shall speak of him in another place.

Ever since Alcibiades had left his country, Nicias enjoyed the whole authority in it : for La- machius his colleague, though a man of bravery and experience, he yet had no credit because of his extreme poverty, for which he was despised by the soldiers. But the Athenians were not always in this way of thinking ; for we saw that Aristides, though poor, was not less esteemed or respected on that account : but in this last expedition, the people in general had imbibed a passion for luxury and magnificence ; the natural consequence of which is, a love of wealth. As Nicias, by this means, governed all affairs solely, all his actions were of the same cast with his disposition, that is, of a slow and fearful kind ; and every thing was in a languid state, which was owing, either to his continuing unactive, to his only sailing up and down the coast, or his losing time in consulting and deliberating : all which soon

DARIUS
NOTHUS.
Diog.
Laert. in
Protag.
Joseph.
contr.App.
Cic. l. 1.
de nat.
deor.n.62.

Thucyd.
P. 452,
453.
Plut. in
Nic.p 533

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

soon suppressed, on one side, the ardour and bravery with which the soldiers had been animated at their setting out; and on the other, the fear and terror with which the enemy had been seized, at the sight of so terrible an armament. He besieged Hybla; and though it was but a small city, he yet was forced to raise the siege some days after, which brought him into the highest contempt. He retired at last to Catania, after having performed but one exploit, viz. the ruining of Hyccara, a small town inhabited by Barbarians, where it is related, that *Lais* the curtezan, at that time very young, was sold with the rest of the captives, and carried to Peloponnesus.

Plut. in
Alcib.
p. 230.

In the mean time, Alcibiades having left Thurium, was arrived at Argos; and as he quite dispaired of ever being recalled home, he sent a messenger to the Spartans, desiring leave to reside among them, under their guard and protection. He promised in the most solemn manner, that if they would consider him as their friend, he would perform greater service for their state, than he before had done injuries to it. The Spartans received him with open arms; and soon after his arrival in their city, he gained the love and esteem of all its inhabitants. He charmed and even enchanted them, by his conforming himself so easily to their way of living. Such people as saw Alcibiades shave himself to the skin, bathe in cold water; eat of the coarse, heavy cakes which were there usual food, and be so well satisfied with their black sauce; could not persuade themselves, that a man who submitted so cheerfully to this kind of life, had ever kept cooks in his palace; had used essences and perfumes; had wore the rich stuffs of Miletus; in a word, that he had hitherto lived in the midst of plenty and the most riotous profusion of all things. But flexibility was the characteristic that chiefly distinguished

tinguished Alcibiades. Camelson like, he could ^{DARIUS} assume all shapes and colours, to win the favour ^{NOTHUS.} of those among whom he resided. He would presently form himself to their customs; and shape himself to all their inclinations, as if they had been innate in him; and though he inwardly had an aversion to them, he yet would cover his disgust with an easy, simple and unconstrained air. In one company, he would appear in all the graces and vivacity of the most frolicksome youth: and in another, would assume the gravity of old age. In Sparta, he was laborious, frugal and rigid; in Ionia, he immersed himself wholly in idleness and the most voluptuous pleasures: in Thrace, he was always on horseback or carouzing: and when he resided with Tissafernes the satrapa, he exceeded the Persians in the extravagance of his luxury and profusion.

But he was not barely satisfied with gaining the esteem of the Lacedæmonians. He insinuated himself so far into the affection of Timea, the wife of king Agis, that he had a son by her, who, in publick, went by the name of Leotychides; though his mother, in private, and among her women and female friends, did not blush to call him Alcibiades; so distractedly fond was she of that Athenian. Agis was informed of this intrigue, and therefore refused to own Leotychides for his son; for which reason this son was afterwards excluded the throne.

S E C T. XI.

Description of Syracuse.

AS the siege of Syracuse is one of the most considerable in the Grecian history; the particulars of which I thought proper to take notice of on that account, in order to give my readers

THE HISTORY OF THE

idea of the manner in which the antients carried on their sieges ; I judged it necessary, before enter into that detail, to exhibit a description and plan of the city of Syracuse ; in which will be given the different fortifications, both of the Athenians and Syracusans, mentioned in this age.

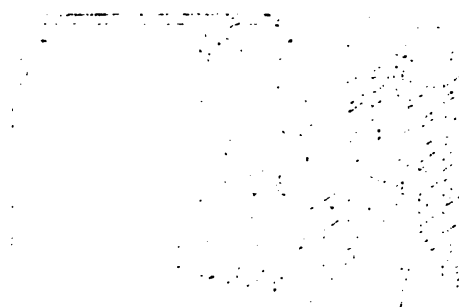
Syracuse stood on the eastern coast of Sicily. Its vast extent, its advantageous situation, the convenience of its double harbour ; its fortifications built with the utmost care and labour, and the multitude and wealth of its inhabitants, made it one of the greatest, the handsomest and most powerful among the Grecian cities *. We are told its air was so clear, that there was no day in the year, how cloudy soever it might be, in which the sun did not display its beams.

It was founded by Archias the Corinthian, a year after that Naxos and Megara had been founded on the same coast.

At the time that the Athenians besieged this city, it was divided into three parts, viz. the island, Achradina and Tyche. Thucydides mentions only these three divisions. Two more, viz. Neapolis and Epipolæ, were afterwards added.

The ISLAND, situated to the South, was called Νῆσος (Nasos) signifying, in Greek, an island, but pronounced according to the Doric dialect ; and Ortygia. It was joined to the continent by a bridge. It was in this island that the Syracusans afterwards built the citadel, and the palace for their kings. This quarter or division of the city was of very great importance, because it might render those who possessed it, master of the two ports which surround it. It was for this reason

* *Urbem Syracusas elegerat, cujus hic situs atque hæc natura esse loci cœlique dicitur, ut nullus unquam dies tam magna tur-* *bulentaque tempestate fuerit, quin aliquo tempore solem ejus diei homines viderent. Cic. Ferr.* 7. n. 26.



A PLAN OF THE CITY OF SYRACUSE Besieged by the Athenians



1 attempt to carry from the foot of
 Epipole along the Northern Wall
 of Tyche as far as Troglus.
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6 Continuation of the western Contramur-
 lation of the Athenians from the
 words within the single wall.

that the Romans, when they took Syracuse, would not suffer any Syracusans to inhabit the island. DARIUS
NOTHUS

There was in this island a very famous spring called Arethusa. The ancients, or rather the poets, from reasons which have not the least shadow of probability, supposed that Alpheus, a river of Elis in Peloponnesus, rolled its waters either through, or under, the waves of the sea, without once mixing with them, as far as the spring or fountain of Arethusa. It was this fiction gave occasion to the following lines of Virgil :

Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem.— Virg.
eclog. 10.

Sic tibi, cùm fluctus subterlabère Sicanos,
Doris amara suam non intermiscat undam.

That is,

*Thy sacred succour, Arethusa, bring,
To crown my labour : 'tis the last I sing—
So may thy silver streams beneath the tide,
Unmixed with briny seas, securely glide.* DRYDEN.

ACHRADINA, situated entirely on the sea-side, and looking eastward, was the most spacious, the most beautiful, and best fortified division in the city.

TYCHE, so called from the temple of fortune (Τύχη) which embellished that part of the city, extended along Achradina westward from the north towards the south, and was very well inhabited. It had a famous gate called Hexapylum, which led into the country, and was situated to the north of the city.

EPIPOLÆ, was a hill standing out of the city, and which it commanded. It was situated between Hexapylum and the point of Euryelus, towards the north and west. It was exceedingly

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

steep in several places, and for that reason of very difficult access. At the time of the siege in question, it was not surrounded with walls; and the Syracusans defended it, with a body of troops, against the attacks of the enemy. Euryelus was the pass or entrance which led to Epipolæ. On the same hill of Epipolæ was a fort called Labdalon or Labdalum.

It was not till a great number of years after (under Dionysius the tyrant,) that Epipolæ was surrounded with walls, and inclosed in the city, of which it formed a fifth part, but was thinly inhabited. A fourth division had been added before, called NEAPOLIS, that is, the new city, which covered Tyche.

Plut. in
Dionys.
vit. p. 970.

The river Anapis ran at almost half a league distance from the city. They were separated by a large and beautiful plain, terminated by two fens or moors, the one called Syraco, whence the city was named; and the other Lysimelia. This river emptied itself into the great harbour. Near its mouth, southward, was a kind of castle called Olympia, from the temple of Jupiter Olympius standing there, and in which were great riches. It was five hundred paces from the city.

Syracuse had two harbours, very near one another, and separated only by the island; viz. the great harbour, and the small one called otherwise Laccus. According to the * description which the Roman orator gives of them, both were surrounded with the edifices of the city.

The greatest harbour was a little above † five thousand paces, or two leagues, in circumference. It had a gulph called Dascon. The entrance of

* Portus habet prope in ædificatione aspectuque urbis inclusos. Cic. Verr. 6. n. 117.

† According to Strabo, it is eighty stadia in circumference,

which would be twice its extent at this time; a plain proof that this passage of Strabo is corrupted. Clavier. p. 167.

this port was but five hundred paces wide. It was formed, on one side, by the point of the island Ortygia; and, on the other, by the little island and cape of Plemmyrium, which was commanded by a fort or castle of the same name. DARIUS
NOTHUS.

Above Achradina was a third port, called the harbour of Trogilus.

S E C T. XII.

Nicias, after some engagements, besieges Syracuse. Lamachus is killed in a battle. The city is reduced to the greatest extremities.

EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

AT the end of the summer, news was brought Nicias that the Syracusans, having roused their courage, intended to march forward and attack him. Already their cavalry advanced with an air of insolence, to attack him even in his camp; and asked with a loud laugh, whether he was come into Sicily, to settle in Catana. These severe reproaches roused him a little, so that he resolved to sail for Syracuse. The enterprize was bold and dangerous. Nicias could not, without running the utmost hazard, attempt to land in presence of an enemy who waited for him with the greatest resolution; and would not fail to attack him with all his forces, the instant he should offer to make a descent. Nor was it safer for him to march his troops by land, because, as he had no cavalry, that of the Syracusans which was very numerous, at the first advice they should have of their march, would fall upon, and cut them to pieces. Thucyd.
l. 6. p. 453
— 461.
Plut. in
Nic. p. 533.
Diod. l. 13.
p. 137,
138.

To extricate himself from this perplexity, and enable himself to seize without opposition upon an advantageous post, which a Syracusan exile had

DARIUS
NOTHUS

discovered to him, Nicias employed a stratagem. He caused a false piece of News to be given to the enemy, *viz.* that by means of a conspiracy which was to take effect on a certain day, they might seize on his camp, and possess themselves of all the arms and baggage. The Syracusans, on this promise, march'd towards Catàna, and pitch'd their camp near Leontium. The moment the Athenians had advice of this, they embarked with all their troops and ammunition; and, in the evening, steered for Syracuse. They arrived by day-break in the great harbour; landed near Olympia, in the place which had been pointed out to them, and there fortified themselves. The enemy, finding themselves shamefully imposed upon, returned immediately to Syracuse; and, in the greatest rage, drew up in battle array some days after, before the walls of the city. Nicias then marched out of the trenches, and a battle was fought. Victory was a long time doubtful, but a very heavy shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, coming unexpectedly; the Syracusans, who were unexperienced, and the greatest part of them having never carried arms before, were frightened at the tempest; whilst their enemies laughed at it; as being the mere effects of the season; and had regard to nothing but the enemy, who were much more to be dreaded than the storm. The Syracusans, after making a long and vigorous resistance, were forc'd to give way. The Athenians could not pursue them far, because their horse, which were still in a body and had not been defeated, covered their retreat. They therefore returned back in good order into the city; after having thrown a body of soldiers into the temple of Olympia to prevent its being plundered.

This temple stood pretty near the camp of the Athenians, who were very desirous of taking it, because it was filled with gold and silver offerings,
which

which the piety of kings and nations had consecrated. Nicias having delayed sending troops to seize it, lost the opportunity; and gave the Syracusans time to throw into it, as was before observed, a detachment to defend it. It was thought he did this on purpose, and out of reverence to the gods; because, had the soldiers plundered this temple, the publick would not have reaped any benefit by it, and himself only would be accused of the sacrilege.

After the battle, the Athenians, who were not yet in a condition to attack Syracuse, retired with their fleet to Naxos and Catana, to winter there; in order to return in the beginning of the next spring, and lay siege to the first mentioned city. To do this, they wanted money, provisions, and particularly horse, they having none at all. The Athenians depended upon procuring part of these succours from the nations of Sicily, whom they supposed would join them, the instant they should hear of their victory; and at the same time they sent an express to Athens, to solicit the like aid. They also addressed the Carthaginians for their alliance; and sent deputies to some cities of Italy, situated on the coast of the Tuscan sea, which had promised to assist them.

The Syracusans were far from desponding. Hermocrates, who, of all their leaders, was most distinguished for his valour, his judgment and experience, represented to them, in order to raise their hopes; that they had not been wanting in courage but in conduct; that the enemies, though very brave; owed their victory to their good fortune rather than to their merit; that the having a multitude of leaders, (they were fifteen in number) from which confusion and disobedience are inseparable, had done them prejudice; that it would be absolutely necessary for them to chuse experienced generals, to keep the rest in their duty, and exercise their

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

forces continually during the winter season. This advice being followed, Hermocrates and two more were elected generals; after which they sent deputies to Corinth and Lacedæmon, to renew the alliance, and at the same time to engage them to make a diversion; in order to oblige, if possible, the Athenians, to recall their troops from Sicily, or at least to prevent their sending a reinforcement thither. The fortifying of Syracuse was the chief object of their care. Accordingly they took into the city, by a wall, all that tract of land which looks towards Epipolæ, from the northern extremity of Tyche, descending westward, towards the quarter or division of the city, called afterwards Neapolis; in order to drive the enemy at a greater distance, and to give them more trouble in making their contrevallation, by obliging them to give a larger extent to it. This part, in all probability, had been neglected, because it seemed to be sufficiently defended by its rugged and steep situation. They also garrisoned Megara and Olympia; and drove stakes into all those parts of the sea-shore, where the enemy might easily make a descent. Hearing afterwards that the Athenians were at Naxos, they went and burnt the camp of Catana; and retired, after laying waste the country adjacent to it.

Thucyd.

l. 6. p. 471

—482.

Plut. in
Alcib.

p. 203.

In Nic.

p. 534.

535.

Diod. l. 13.

p. 138.

The ambassadors of Syracuse being arrived among the Corinthians, asked succour of them as having been their founders, which was immediately granted; and at the same time they sent an embassy to the Lacedæmonians, to invite them to declare in their favour. Alcibiades enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence, which his resentment against Athens inflamed prodigiously. He advised and exhorted the Lacedæmonians to appoint Gylippus their general, and send him into Sicily; and at the same time to invade the Athenians, in order to make a powerful diversion. In the

third

third place, he counselled them to fortify Decelia ^{DARIUS} in Attica, which quite compleated the ruin of the city ^{NOTHUS.} of Athens, it not being able to ever recover that blow : For by this fort, the Lacedæmonians made themselves masters of the country, by which the Athenians were deprived of their silver mines of Laurium, and of the revenues of their lands ; nor could they be succoured by their neighbours, Decelia being now become the asylum of all the malecontents and partizans of Sparta.

Nicias had received some succours from Athens, ^{A. M.} It consisted of two hundred and fifty troopers, ^{3590.} whom the Athenians supposed would be furnished ^{Ant. J. C.} with horses in Sicily ; (the troopers bringing only ^{414.} the furniture) and in thirty horse-bowmen, with three hundred talents, that is, three hundred thousand french crowns. Nicias now began to prepare for action. He was accused of often letting slip opportunities, by his losing time in deliberating, arguing and concerting measures ; however, when once he entered upon action, he was as bold and vigorous in executing, as he before had been slow and fearful in contriving, as he showed on the present occasion.

The Syracusans hearing that the Athenians had a reinforcement of cavalry, and would soon march and lay siege to their city ; and knowing they could not possibly approach it, or make a contrevallation, unless they should possess themselves of the hills of Epipolæ which commanded Syracuse, they resolved to guard the avenue of it ; that being the only pass by which the enemy could get up to it, every other part being rugged and inaccessible. Marching therefore down into the meadow or plain, bordered by the river Anapis, and reviewing their troops in it, they appointed seven hundred foot, under the command of Diomilus, to guard this important post ; and commanded them to repair to it, at the first signal which should be given

DARIUS given for that purpose. But Nicias conducted his
NOTHUS. design with so much prudence, celerity and se-
 crecy, that they had not time to do this. He sailed
 from Catana with all his fleet, unsuspected in any
 manner by the enemy. Being arrived at the port of
 Trogilus near Leontium, which is but a quarter
 of a league, (six or seven furlongs) from Epipolæ;
 he put his land-forces on shore, after which he
 retired with his fleet to Thapsus, a small peninsula
 of Syracuse, the entrance to which he shut up
 with a staccado.

The land-forces ran to seize on Epipolæ, by
 the pass of Euryalus, before that the enemy,
 who were in the plains of Anapis and at above a
 leagues distance, had the least notice of their arri-
 val. At the first news of this, the seven hundred
 soldiers under the command of Diomilus, advanced
 forward in confusion, but were easily defeated;
 and three hundred of them, with their leader,
 were left dead in the field. The Athenians, after
 setting up a trophy, built a fort in Labdalon, on
 the summit of Epipolæ, in order to secure in it their
 baggage, and their most valuable effects, whenever
 they should be forced to fight, or work at the
 contrevallation.

Soon after, the inhabitants of Egesta sent the
 Athenians three hundred troopers; and to these some
 of their Sicilian allies added a hundred more, which,
 with the two hundred and fifty sent before by the
 Athenians, and who had furnished themselves with
 horses in Sicily, made a body of six hundred and
 fifty troopers.

The plan laid down by Nicias, in order for his
 taking Syracuse was, to surround all the city (land-
 ward) with a strong contrevallation, in order to
 cut off, from the besieged, all communication
 with any outward force; he doubtless supposing
 that his fleet would afterwards enable him to pre-

vent the Syracusans from receiving any succours or provisions by sea. DARIUS
NOTHUS.

Having left a garrison in Labdalon, he came down from the hill, advanced towards the northern extremity of Tyche, and halting there, he employed the whole army in raising a wall of contrevallation, to shut up the city, northward, from Tyche as far as Trogilus, standing on the sea-side. This work was carried on with such a rapidity, as quite terrified the Syracusans. They thought it their interest to oppose the building of it, and accordingly made some sallies and attacks, but always with disadvantage, and even their cavalry was routed. The day after the action, the contrevallation (northward) was continued by part of the army, during which the rest carried stones and other materials towards Trogilus, in order to finish it.

The besieged, by the advice of Hermocrates, thought it adviseable not to venture a second battle with the Athenians; and only endeavoured to put a stop to their works, at least to make them of no service, by themselves raising a wall which should cut through the spot, along which the Athenians intended to carry on theirs. They imagined, that in case no one should interrupt their works, and they should be suffered to complete their wall, it would be impossible for the Athenians to make any farther advances: or that, should they advance forward in order to oppose them, the Syracusans would then have no more to do but to send out a considerable part of their forces against them; after having shut up such avenues as were most accessible with strong palissades: and that the Athenians, on the contrary, would be obliged to send for all their forces, and quite abandon their works.

Accordingly

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

Accordingly they came out of their city, and working with inexpressible ardour, they began to raise a wall ; and, in order to carry it on with less molestation, they covered it with strong palissades ; and flanked it with wooden towers, at proper distances, to defend it. The Athenians suffered the Syracusans to carry on their works undisturbed ; since, had they marched only part of their troops against them, they would have been too weak ; and if they had brought them all, they then must have been obliged to discontinue their works, which they were resolved not to do. The work being compleated, the Syracusans left a body of men to defend the palissade and guard the wall, and then returned into the city.

In the mean time the Athenians, cut the canals by which water was conveyed into the city ; and observing the Syracusan soldiers who had been left to guard the walls, very negligent in their duty ; some returning, at noon, either into the city or their huts, and the rest not keeping a proper guard, they detached three hundred chosen soldiers, and some light infantry, to attack this post ; during which the rest of the army marched towards the city, to keep any succours from coming out of it. Accordingly, the three hundred soldiers having forced the palissade, pursued those who guarded it as far as that part of the city wall which covered Temenos ; where, pouring in indiscriminately with them, they were repulsed by the inhabitants with loss. The whole army afterwards demolished the wall ; forced the palissades out of the intrenchment, and carried them off.

After this success, whereby the Athenians were masters of the northern parts, they began, the very next day, a still more important work, and which would quite finish their inclosure of the city ; viz. to carry a wall from the hills of Epipolæ, westward, through the plain and the fens as far as
the

the great harbour. To prevent this, the besieged, ^{DARIUS} NOTHUS. beginning the same kind of work as they had carried on on the other side; drew from the city, through the fens, a foss lined with palissades, to prevent the Athenians from carrying their contravallations as far as the sea. But the latter, after finishing the first part of the wall on the hills of Epipolæ, resolved to attack the lined foss. For this purpose, they ordered their fleet to sail from Thapsus to the great harbour of Syracuse, it having continued in that road hitherto; and the besieged had always the sea open to them, by which the besiegers were obliged to get their provisions from Thapsus by land. The Athenians came down therefore from Epipolæ, into the plain, before day-break; when throwing planks and beams in that part where the fen was only slimy and more firm than in other places; they immediately carried the greatest part of the foss that was lined with palissades, and then the remaining part, after having beat the Syracusans; for these gave way, and retired; such as were on the right, towards the city, and the rest towards the river. Three hundred chosen Athenians having attempted to cut off the passage of the latter, flew towards the bridge: but the enemy's cavalry, the greatest part of which were drawn up in battle array, repulsed them; and afterwards rushed on the right wing of the Athenians, and put the first batallions into disorder. Lamachus perceiving this from the left wing where he commanded, ran thither with the Argivi and some bowmen; but having forced his way over a ditch, and being abandoned by his soldiers, he was killed with five or six who followed him. The body of the enemy immediately went on the other side of the river, and seeing the rest of the army come up, they retired.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

At the same time, their right wing, which had returned towards the city, recovered their spirits by this success, and came and drew up in order of battle before the Athenians; after having detached some troops to attack the fort built on the hills of Epipolæ, which served as a magazine to the enemy, and was thought to be undefended. They forced an intrenchment that covered the fort, but Nicias saved it. He was sick in this fort, and at that time in his bed, with only his domesticks about him. Animated by the danger and the presence of the enemy, he struggles with his indisposition; rises up, and commands his servants to set fire immediately to all the timber, lying between the intrenchment and the fort for the military engines, and to the engines themselves. This unexpected conflagration stopped the Syracusans; saved Nicias, the fort, and all the rich effects of the Athenians; for these hastened to succour that general. At the same time, the fleet was seen sailing into the great harbour, according to the orders given for that purpose. The Syracusans having perceived this from the hill, and fearing they should be attacked from behind, and over-powered by the land-forces, they retired; and returned to the city with all their forces; now no longer expecting, after having lost their foss lined with palissades, that it would be possible for them to prevent the enemy from carrying on their contravallation as far as the sea.

In the mean time the Athenians, who had contented themselves with building a single wall on the hills of Epipolæ, and through such places as were craggy and of difficult access, being come down into the plain, began to build, at the foot of the hills, a double wall, intending to carry it as far as the sea; viz. a wall of contravallation against the besieged, and another of circumvallation against those Syracusan troops which were
 out

out of the city, and such of the allies as might come to succour it. DARIUS
NOTHUS.

From that day Nicias, who now was the sole general, conceived great hopes; for several nations of Sicily, which hitherto had not declared for either side, came and joined him; and there arrived to him, from all quarters, vessels laden with provisions for his army; all parties being eager to go over to him, because he had now got the upper-hand, and been vastly fortunate in all his undertakings. Already the Syracusans, seeing themselves blocked up both by sea and land, and losing all hopes of being able to defend their city any longer, offered to come to an accommodation. Gylippus, who was just arrived from Lacedæmonia to their assistance, having heard, in his passage, the extremity to which they were reduced, and looking upon the whole island as lost, sailed forward nevertheless; not in the view of defending Sicily, but only to preserve to the nations of Italy, such cities as were subject to them in that island, if it were not too late, and if this could be done. For some had declared, in all places, that the Athenians had already possessed themselves of the whole island; and were headed by a general, whose wisdom and good fortune rendered him invincible. Nicias himself, now, (contrary to his natural disposition) confiding in his own strength, and elated with his success; persuaded also by the secret advices which were brought him daily from Syracuse, and the messengers who were sent to him, that the city would immediately capitulate, made no account of Gylippus's approach; and therefore did not endeavour to prevent his landing, especially when he heard that he brought but very few vessels; for which reason Nicias called him a trifling pyrate, not worthy, in any manner, his notice. But a general ought to be extremely careful, not to grow remiss in the midst of success,

DARIUS cess, because the least negligence may prove his
NOTHUS. destruction. Had Nicias sent the smallest detachment, to oppose Gylippus's landing, he would have taken Syracuse, and the whole affair had been ended.

S E C T. XIII.

The Syracusans resolve to capitulate, but Gylippus's arrival changes the face of affairs. Nicias, involuntarily, and forced to it by his colleagues, engages in a sea-fight, and is overcome. His land-forces are also defeated.

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

A. M.

3591.

Ant. J. C.

413.

Thucyd.

l. 7. p.

485-489

Plut. in

Nic. p.

535, 536.

Diod. l. 13.

p 138, 139

THE fortifications of the Athenians were now almost compleated; and they had drawn a double wall, near half a league in length, along the plain and the fens towards the great port, and had almost reached it. There now remained, on the side towards Trogilus, only a small part of the wall to be finished. The Syracusans were therefore on the brink of ruin, and had no hopes left, since they were no longer able to defend themselves, and did not expect any succours. For this reason they resolved to surrender. Accordingly, a council was held, to settle articles of capitulation, in order to present them to Nicias; and several were of opinion, that it would be proper to capitulate soon, before the city should be entirely invested.

It was at that very instant, and in the most critical juncture, that an officer, Gongyles by name, arrived from Corinth on board a galley triremis. At his arrival, all the citizens flocked round him. He then declared aloud, that Gylippus would be with them immediately, and was followed by a great many other gallies, which were come to succour

cour them. The Syracusans astonished, or rather stu-^{DARIUS}
 pified, as it were, with this news, dare not give cre-^{NOTHUS}
 dit to it. Whilst they were thus fluctuating, and
 in doubt, a courier sent by Gylippus came up,
 who acquaints them with the arrival of that ge-
 neral, and orders them to march out all their
 troops to meet him. He himself, after having
 taken a * fort, in his way, marched in battle ar-^{Jeg.}
 ray, directly for Epipolæ; and coming up by Eu-
 ryelus, as the Athenians had done, he began to
 prepare to attack them from without; whilst the
 Syracusans should charge them, on their side, with
 the forces of Syracuse and his. The Athenians, sur-
 prized beyond imagination at his coming, drew up
 hastily, and without order, in battle array, under
 the walls. With regard to himself, laying down
 his arms when he was come near, he sent word by
 a herald, that he would allow the Athenians only
 five days to leave Sicily. Nicias did not conde-
 scend to make the least answer to this proposal;
 and some of his soldiers bursting out a laughing,
 asked the herald, *Whether the presence of a Lac-
 dæmonian privateer, and a trifling wand, could create
 any change in the present state of the city.* Both sides
 therefore prepared for battle.

Gylippus stormed the fort of Labdalon, and cut
 to pieces all who were found in it. The same
 day an Athenian galley was taken, as it sailed into
 the harbour. Then the besieged drew a wall from
 the city, towards Epipolæ, in order to cut (about
 the extremity of it) the single wall of the Atheni-
 ans; and to take away from them all communication
 with the troops, posted in those intrenchments which
 surrounded the city on the north side towards
 Tyche and Trogilus. The Athenians, after having
 finished the wall, which extended as far as the sea
 towards the great harbour, were returned to the
 hills. Gylippus spying, in the single wall which
 the Athenians had built on the hills of Epipolæ,

THE HISTORY OF THE

a part that was weaker and lower than the rest, marched thither in the night with his troops; but being discovered by the Athenians who were encamped without, he was forced to retire, upon his seeing them advance directly towards him. They raised the wall higher, and themselves undertook the guard of it; after having fixed their allies in the several posts of the remainder of the intrenchment.

Nicias, on the other side, thought proper to fortify the cape of Plemmyrium, which, by its running into the sea, straitned the mouth of the great harbour; and his design thereby was, to procure provisions, and all other things he might want, the more easily; because that the Athenians, by possessing themselves of that post, drew near the little port, wherein lay the chief naval forces of the Syracusans, and were the better able to observe the various motions of it; and that besides, by having the sea open, they would not be forced to draw all their provisions from the bottom of the great harbour; as they must necessarily do should the enemy, by seizing on the mouth of it, force them to keep close in the harbour, in the manner they then did. For Nicias, ever since the arrival of Gylippus, had no hopes left but from sea-ward. Sending therefore his fleet and part of his troops thither, he built three forts, by which the ships were enabled to lie at anchor; and there secured a great part of the baggage and ammunition. It was then that the sea-faring people suffered very much; for, as they were obliged to go a great way to fetch wood and water, they were surrounded by the enemy's horse, the third part of which were posted at Olympia, to prevent the garrison of Plemmyrium from sallying out, and were masters of the field. Advice being brought Nicias, that the Corinthian fleet was coming up, he sent twenty gallies against it; ordering them to have

an

an eye on the enemy towards Locris, Rhegium, and the rest of the avenues of Sicily. DARIUS
NOTHUS.

In the mean time Gylippus, employing those very stones which the Athenians had got together for their use, went on with the wall which the Syracusans had begun to carry through Epipolæ; and drew up daily in battle array before it, as did the Athenians. When he saw it was a proper time for engaging, he began the battle in the spot lying between the two walls. The narrowness of it having made his cavalry and bowmen of no use, he came off with loss, and the Athenians set up a trophy. Gylippus, to rouse the spirits of his soldiers, by doing them justice, had the courage to reproach himself for the ill success they had met with; and to declare publicly, that he, not they, had occasioned the late defeat; because he had made them fight in too narrow a spot of ground. However, he promised to soon give them an opportunity of recovering both their honour and his; and accordingly, the very next day, he led them against the enemy, after having exhorted them in the strongest terms, to behave in a manner worthy of their ancient fame and reputation. Nicias perceiving, that though he should not be desirous of coming to a battle, it yet would be absolutely necessary for him to prevent the enemy from extending their wall beyond the contrevallation, to which they had already got very near; (because otherwise this would be granting them a certain victory) he therefore marched out against the Syracusans. Gylippus brought up his troops beyond that place, where the walls terminated on each side, in order that he might leave the more room to extend his forces; when charging the enemy's left wing with his horse, he put it to flight, and soon after defeated the right wing. We have here an instance of the mighty effects which the experience and abilities of a great captain are capable of producing:

DARIUS for Gylippus, with the same men, the same arms, the same horses, and the same ground; by only changing his order of battle, defeated the Athenians, and beat them quite to their camp. The following night, the victors carried on their wall beyond the contrevallation of the Athenians, and thereby deprived them of all hopes of being ever able to surround them.

Thucyd. After this success, the Syracusans, to whose aid
I. 7. p. the Corinthian fleet was arrived unperceived by
490—494 that of the Athenians, roused their courage, armed
Plut. in several galleys; and marching into the plains with
Nic. their cavalry and other forces, took a great number
p. 536. of prisoners. They sent deputies to Lacedæmo-
Diod. l. 13. nia and Corinth to desire a reinforcement; Gylippus
p. 139. went in person to all the cities of Sicily, to solicit them to join him; and he won over the greatest part of them, who accordingly sent him powerful succours. Nicias, finding his troops lessen daily, and those of the enemy increase, began to be disheartened; and not only sent expresses to the Athenians, to acquaint them with the situation of affairs, but likewise wrote to them in the strongest terms. I will transcribe his whole letter, both as it gives a clear and exact account of the state of matters at that time in Syracuse, and may serve as a model for such kind of relations.

“ Athenians: I have already informed you, by
 “ several expresses, of what was transacting here:
 “ but it is necessary you should know the present
 “ situation of things, in order that you may be
 “ enabled to give the proper orders. After we
 “ had been victorious in several engagements, and
 “ almost compleated our contrevallation, Gylip-
 “ pus arrived in Syracuse with a body of Lacedæ-
 “ monian and Sicilian troops; when, having been
 “ defeated the first time, he was victorious the
 “ second, by means of his cavalry and bowmen.

“ By

“ By this we are shut up in our intrenchments, ^{DARIUS|}
 “ without daring to make any attempt, or com- ^{NOTHUS.}
 “ pleat our contrevallation, because of the supe-
 “ riority of the enemy's forces ; for part of our
 “ soldiers are employed in guarding our forts, and
 “ consequently we have not an opportunity of em-
 “ ploying all our forces in battle. Besides, as the
 “ Syracusans have cut off our lines, by a wall, in
 “ that part where they were not compleated ; it
 “ will no longer be possible for us to invest the
 “ city, unless we should force their intrench-
 “ ments ; so that instead of besieging, we our-
 “ selves are besieged, and dare not stir out, for
 “ fear of their horse.

“ Not contented with these advantages, they are
 “ sending for new succours from Peloponnesus,
 “ and have sent Gylippus to force all the neutral
 “ cities of Sicily to side with one of the parties ;
 “ and the rest to furnish them with men and ships,
 “ to attack us both by sea and land. I say by sea,
 “ which though this be a very surprizing circum-
 “ stance, is yet but too true. For our fleet,
 “ which before was considerable, from the good
 “ condition of the gallies and sailors, is now very
 “ deficient, in those very particulars, and prodi-
 “ giously weakned.

“ Our gallies leak every where ; we not being
 “ able to draw them to shore to refit, for fear,
 “ lest those of the enemy, which are more nu-
 “ merous, and in better condition than ours, should
 “ attack us on a sudden, which they seem to
 “ threaten every moment. Besides, we are under
 “ a necessity of sending many up and down to
 “ guard the provisions, which we are forced to
 “ fetch from a great distance, and bring along in
 “ sight of the enemy ; so that should we be ever so
 “ little negligent in this particular, our army
 “ would be starved.

DARIUS

NOTHUS.

“ With regard to our soldiers and sailors, these
 “ decrease sensibly every day ; for as great num-
 “ bers of them go either marauding, or to fetch
 “ wood and water, they are often cut to pieces by
 “ the enemy’s horse. Our slaves, allured by
 “ the neighbourhood of the enemy’s camp, de-
 “ sert very fast to it. The foreigners which we
 “ forced into the service, diminish daily ; and
 “ such as have been raised with money, who came
 “ in the view of getting plunder rather than of
 “ fighting ; finding themselves balked, go over
 “ to the enemy who lies so near us, or else hide
 “ themselves in Sicily, which they may easily do,
 “ in so large an island. A great number of citi-
 “ zens, though long used to the sea, and very
 “ well skilled in the working of gallies, they yet,
 “ by bribing the captains, put others in their
 “ room who are wholly unexperienced, and incapa-
 “ ble of serving, and by that means have quite over-
 “ turned all discipline. I am now writing to men
 “ perfectly well versed in naval affairs ; and who
 “ are very sensible, that, when order is neglected,
 “ things grow worse and worse, and a fleet must
 “ inevitably be destroyed.

“ But the most unhappy circumstance is, that
 “ though I am generalissimo, I yet cannot put a
 “ stop to these disorders. For (Athenians) you
 “ are very sensible, that such is your disposition,
 “ that you do not easily brook restraint ; be-
 “ sides, I do not know where to furnish my self
 “ with sailors, whilst the enemy get numbers from
 “ all quarters. It is not in the power of our Si-
 “ cilian allies to aid us ; and should the cities of
 “ Italy, whence we draw our provisions, (hearing
 “ the extremity to which we are reduced, and
 “ your not taking the least care to send us any
 “ succour.) join themselves to the Syracusans, we
 “ are undone ; and the enemy will have no occa-
 “ sion to fight us.

“ I could

“ I could write of things which would be more agreeable, but of none that could be more advantageous to you, nor which could better give you a more just idea of the subjects on which you are to deliberate. I am sensible that you love to have such advices only sent you as are pleasing; but then I know on the other side, that when affairs turn out otherwise than you expected and hoped for, you accuse those who deceived you; which prompted me to give you a sincere and genuine account of things, without concealing a single circumstance. By the way I am to inform you, that no complaints can be justly made either against the officers or common soldiers, both having done their duty very faithfully.

“ But now that the Sicilians join all their forces against us, and expect a new army from Peloponnesus; you may lay this down as the foundation for your deliberations, that our present troops are not sufficient; and therefore, we either must be recalled; or else a land and naval force, equal to the former, must be sent us, and money in proportion. You likewise must think of appointing a person to succeed me; it being impossible for me, by reason of my nephretic pains, to sustain any longer the weight of the command. Methinks I deserve this favour at your hands, on account of the services I have done you, in the several commissions you bestowed upon me, so long as my health would permit me to act.

“ To conclude; whatever resolution you may come to, the request I have to make, is, that you would execute it speedily, and in the very beginning of the spring. The succours which our enemies meet with in Sicily are all ready; but those which they expect from Peloponnesus may be longer in coming. However, fix this

DARIUS "in your minds, that if you do not exert yourselves, the Lacedæmonians will not fail, as
 NOTHUS. "they have already done, to get the start of
 "you."

The Athenians were strongly affected with this letter, and it made as great an impression on their minds as Nicias expected it would. However, they did not think proper to appoint him a successor; and only nominated two officers who were under him, *viz.* Menander and Euthydemus, to assist him till such time as other generals should be sent. Eurymedon and Demosthenes were chosen to succeed Lamachus and Alcibiades. The former set out immediately with ten gallies, and some *120 talents* money, about the winter solstice, to assure Nicias that a speedy succour should be sent him; during which, the latter was raising troops and contributions, in order to set sail the following spring.

Thucyd. The Lacedæmonians, on the other side, being
 1.7.p. 494 supported by the Corinthians; were very industri-
 —496 & ous in preparing reinforcements to send into Sicily,
 502, 504. and to enter Attica, in order to keep the Athe-
 Diod. 1.13 nian fleet from sailing towards that island. Ac-
 p. 140. cordingly they entered Attica early, under the
 A. M. command of king Agis; and after having laid
 3591. waste the country, they fortified Decelia; having
 Ant. J. C. divided the work among all the forces, to make
 413. the greater dispatch. This post is about an hundred and twenty furlongs from Athens, that is, about six french leagues, and the same distance from Bœotia. Alcibiades was perpetually addressing the Lacedæmonians; and could not be easy, till he had prevailed with them to begin that work. This annoyed the Athenians most of all: for hitherto the enemy, retiring after they had laid waste the Athenian territories, the latter were unmolested all the rest of the year; but ever since Decelia had been fortified, the garrison left

In it was for ever making incursions, and filled the Athenians with perpetual alarms, Athens being now become a kind of fortress; for, in the day-time, a guard was mounted at all the gates; and in the night, all the citizens were either on the walls, or under arms. Such vessels as brought provisions from the island of Eubœa, and which before had a much shorter passage by Decelia, were forced to go round about, in order to double the cape of Surium; by which means provisions, as well as goods imported, grew much dearer. To heighten the calamity, upwards of twenty thousand slaves, the greatest part of whom were Artificers, went over to the enemy, to fly from the extreme misery with which the city was afflicted. The cattle of all kinds died. Most of the horses were lamed, they being continually upon guard, or making incursions. So universal a havock being made, and the Athenians enjoying no longer the revenues which arose from the produce of their lands, there was a prodigious scarcity of money; insomuch that they were forced to take the twentieth part of all the imports, to supply their usual subsidies.

In the mean time Gylippus, who had gone round Sicily, brought as many men as he could possibly raise in the whole island; and prevailed with the Syracusans to fit out the strongest fleet in their power, and to hazard a battle at sea, upon the presumption that the success would answer the greatness of the enterprize. This advice was strongly enforced by Hermocrates, who exhorted the Syracusans, to not resign to their enemies the empire of the seas. He observed, that the Athenians themselves had not received it from their ancestors, nor been always possessed of it: That the Persian war had in a manner forced them into the knowledge of naval affairs, and to accustom themselves to the ocean, notwithstanding two great obstacles,

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

Thucyd.
1.7. p. 497
—500.
Plut. in
Nic.
p. 536.
Diod.
p. 140.

**DARIUS
NOTHUS.**

obstacles, viz. their disposition, and the situation of their city, which stood at a considerable distance from the sea : That they had made themselves formidable to other nations, not so much by their real strength as by their courage and intrepidity : That they ought to copy them ; and since they had to do with enemies who were so enterprizing, it was fit they should be equally daring.

This advice was approved, and accordingly a large fleet was equipped. Gylippus led out all his land-forces in the night-time, to attack the forts of Plemmyrium. Thirty five galleys of Syracuse which were in the great harbour, and forty five in the lesser, where was an arsenal for ships, were ordered to advance towards Plemmyrium ; to intimidate the Athenians when they should see themselves attacked both by sea and land at the same time. The Athenians, at this news, went on board also ; and, with twenty five ships, sailed to fight the thirty five Syracusan vessels which were sailing out against them from the great harbour ; and opposed thirty five more to the forty five of the enemy, which were come out of the little port. A sharp engagement was fought at the mouth of the great harbour ; one party endeavouring to force their way into it, and the other to keep them out.

Those who defended the forts of Plemmyrium, having flocked to the shore to view the battle, Gylippus attacked the forts unexpectedly by day-break ; and having carried the greatest of them by storm, the soldiers who defended the other two, were so terrified, that they were abandoned in a moment. After this advantage the Syracusans sustained a considerable loss ; for such of their vessels as fought at the entrance of the harbour, (after having forced the Athenians) bulged furiously one against the other as they entered it in disorder ; and by that means shifted the victory to their enemies,

mies, who were not contented with pursuing them, but also gave chase to those who were victorious in the great harbour. Eleven Syracusan gallees were sunk, and great numbers of the sailors in them killed. Three were taken; but the Athenians likewise lost three, and after towing those of the enemy, they raised a trophy in a little island lying before Plemmyrium, and retired to the center of their camp.

The Syracusans also raised three trophies for their taking of the three forts; and after razing one of the smaller, they repaired the fortifications of the other two, and put garrisons into them. Several Athenians had been either killed or made prisoners there; and great sums of money were taken, the property of the government, as well as of merchants and captains of gallees, besides a large quantity of ammunition; this being a kind of magazine for the whole army. They likewise lost the stores and rigging of forty gallees, with three ships that lay in the dock. But a more considerable circumstance was, Gylippus thereby prevented Nicias from getting provisions and ammunition so easily; for, whilst the latter was possessor of Plemmyrium, they procured these securely and expeditiously; whereas, after their being dispossessed of it, it was equally difficult and hazardous, because they could not bring in any thing without drawing their swords; the enemy lying at anchor just off their fort. Thus the Athenians could get no provisions without fighting; which dispirited the soldiers very much, and threw the whole army into a great consternation.

There afterwards was a little skirmish in defending a staccado which the inhabitants had made in the sea, at the entrance of the old harbour, to secure the shipping. The Athenians having raised towers and parapets on a large ship, drove it as near as possible to the staccado, in order that it might

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

Thucyd.
1,7 p. 500,
501.

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

might serve as a bulwark to some ships which carried military engines, wherewith they forced up stakes, by the help of pullies and ropes; exclusive of those which the divers sawed in two; the besieged defending themselves with their harbour, and the enemies with their tower. Such stakes as had been forced in, level with the surface of the water, in order to strand those vessels that should come near them, were the hardest to force away. The divers also bribed the enemy, and most of the stakes were tore up; but then others were immediately drove in their places. The utmost efforts were used on both sides, in the attack as well as the defence.

Thucyd.

l. 7. p. 509

—513.

Plut. in
Nic.

p. 536.

Diod.

p. 140,

141.

One circumstance which the besieged considered of the greatest importance, was, to attempt a second engagement both by sea and land, before the fleet, and other succours sent by the Athenians, should be arrived. They had concerted fresh measures with regard to sea-fights, by taking advantage of the errors they had committed in the last engagement. The changes made in the galleys, were, their prows were now shorter, and at the same time stronger and more solid than before. For this purpose, they fixed great pieces of timber, projecting forward, on each side of the prows; and to these pieces they joined beams by way of props. These beams extended to the length of six cubits on each side of the vessel, both within and without. By this they hoped to gain the advantage over the galleys of the Athenians, which did not dare, because of the weakness of their prows, to attack an enemy in front, but only in flank; not to mention that, should the battle be fought in the harbour, they would not have room to spread themselves, nor to pass between two galleys, in which lay their greatest art; nor to tack about, after they should have been repulsed, in order to return to the onset; whereas the Syracusans,

cusans, by their being masters of the whole extent of the harbour, would have all these advantages, and might reciprocally assist one another. On these circumstances the latter founded the hopes they entertained of gaining the victory.

Gylippus therefore first drew all the infantry out of the camp, and advanced towards that part of the contravallation of the Athenians which faced the city ; whilst the troops of Olympia marched towards the other, and their gallies set sail.

Nicias did not care to venture a second battle, saying, that as he expected a fresh fleet every moment, and a great reinforcement which Demosthenes was bringing with all speed ; it would betray the greatest want of judgment, should he, as his troops were inferior in number to those of the enemy, and already fatigued, hazard a battle without being forced to it. On the contrary, Menander and Euthydemus, who had just before been appointed to share the command with Nicias, till the arrival of Demosthenes ; fired with ambition, and jealous of those generals, they wanted to perform some mighty exploit, to bereave, the one of his glory ; and, if possible, eclipse that of the other. The pretence they alledged on this occasion was, the fame and reputation of Athens ; and they asserted with so much vehemence, that it would be entirely destroyed, should they shun the battle, since the Syracusans offered it them ; that they at last forced Nicias to a compliance. The Athenians had seventy five gallies, and the Syracusans eighty.

The first day, the fleets continued in sight of each other, in the great harbour, without engaging ; and only a few skirmishes were fought, after which both parties retired : and it was just the same with the land forces. The Syracusans did not make the least motion the second day. Ni-

**DARIUS
NOTHUS.**

cias, taking advantage of this inactivity, caused the transports to draw up in a line, at some distance from one another; in order that his galleies might retire behind them with safety, in case he should be defeated. On the morrow, the Syracusans came up sooner than usual, when a great part of the day was spent in skirmishing, after which they retired. The Athenians did not suppose they would return, but imagined that fear had made them fly: but having refreshed themselves in great diligence, and returning on board their galleies, they attacked the Athenians who were far from expecting them. The latter being now forced to return immediately on board their ships, they entered them in great disorder, so that they had not time to draw them up in a line of battle, and most of the sailors were fasting. Victory did not long continue in suspense. The Athenians, after making a short and slight resistance, retired behind their line of transport ships. The enemy pursued them thither, and were stopt by the sail-yards of those ships, to which were fixed * dolphins of lead which, being very heavy, had they fallen on the enemy's galleies would have sunk them at once. The Athenians lost seven galleies in this engagement, and a great number of soldiers were either killed or taken prisoners.

Thucyd.

1.7. p. 513

—518.

Plut. in

Nic.

p. 537.

Diod.

p. 141,

142.

This loss thrêw Nicias into the utmost consternation. All the misfortunes he had met with, ever since the time he had first enjoyed the supreme command came into his mind; and he now is involved in a greater than any of them, by his complying with the advice of his colleagues. Whilst he was revolving these gloomy ideas, Demosthenes's fleet was seen coming forward in great pomp, and with such an air as should fill the e-

* This engine, so violent was its motion, broke through a galley from the deck to the hold.

enemy with dread: it was now the day after the battle. This fleet consisted of seventy-three gal-^{DARIUS}
lies, on board of which were five thousand fight-^{NOTHUS.}
ing men, and about three thousand archers, sling-
ers and bowmen. All these galleys were richly
trimmed; their prows being adorned with shining
streamers, manned with stout rowers, commanded
by good officers, and echoing with the sound of
clarions and trumpets; Demosthenes having af-
fected an air of pomp and triumph, purposely to
strike terror into the enemy.

This gallant fight alarmed them indeed beyond
expression. They did not see any end, or even
the least suspension of their calamities: all they
had hitherto done or suffered was as nothing, and
their work was to begin again. What hopes
could they entertain, of being able to weary out
the patience of the Athenians, since, though they
had a camp intrenched in the middle of Attica,
they yet were able to send a second army into
Sicily, as considerable as the former; and that
their power as well as their courage, seemed, not-
withstanding the mighty losses they had sustained,
instead of diminishing to increase daily?

Demosthenes, having made an exact enquiry
into the state of things, imagined that it would
not be proper for him to lose time as Nicias had
done, who, having spread an universal terror at
his first arrival, became afterwards the object of
contempt, for his having wintered in Catana, in-
stead of going directly to Syracuse; and had af-
terwards given Gylippus an opportunity of throw-
ing troops into it. He flattered himself with the
hopes, that he should be able to take the city at
the first attack, by taking advantage of the alarm
which the news of his arrival would spread in
every part of it, and by that means should imme-
diately put an end to the war: otherwise, he in-
tended to raise the siege, and no longer harass
and

DARIUS
NOTHUS.

and lessen the troops. by fighting battles which were ever undecisive; nor quite exhaust the city of Athens, by employing its treasures in needless expences.

Nicias, frightened at this bold and precipitate resolution of Demosthenes, conjured him not to be so hasty, but to take time to weigh things deliberately, that he might have no cause to repent of what he had done. He observed to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays; that their provisions as well as money was quite consumed; that their allies were going to abandon them; that they must soon be reduced to such extremity, for want of provisions, as would force them to surrender, as they had before resolved: For there were certain persons in Syracuse who carried on a secret correspondence with Nicias, and exhorted him not to be impatient, because the Syracusans were tired with the war and with Gylippus; and that should the necessity to which they were reduced be ever so little increased, they then would surrender at discretion.

As Nicias did not explain himself clearly, and would not declare in express terms, that sure and certain advices were sent him of whatever was transacted in the city, his remonstrances were considered as an effect of the fear and dilatoriness with which he had always been reproached. "Such," said they, are his usual slownesses, delays, distrusts, and fearful precautions, whereby he has deadened all the vivacity, and extinguished all the ardour of the troops, by his not marching them immediately against the enemy; but, on the contrary, by deferring to attack them, till his own forces were weakened and despised." This made the rest of the generals and all the officers come over to Demosthenes's opinion, and Nicias himself was at last forced to acquiesce with it.

Demosthenes,

Demosthenes, after having attacked to no purpose the wall which cut the contravallation of the besiegers, confined himself to the attack of Epipolæ, from a supposition that should he once be master of it, the wall would be left quite undefended. He therefore took provisions for five days, with workmen, implements, and every thing necessary for him to defend that post after he should be possessed of it. As there was no going up to it in the day-time undiscovered, he marched thither in the night with all his forces, fortified by Eurymedon and Menander; Nicias staying behind to guard the camp. They went up by the way of Euryelus, as before, unperceived by the centinels; they attack the first intrenchment, and storm it, after killing part of those who defended it. Demosthenes, not satisfied with this advantage, to prevent the ardour of his soldiers from cooling, and not delay the execution of his design, marches forward. During this interval, the forces of the city, sustained by Gylippus, march, under arms, out of the intrenchments. Being seized with astonishment, which the darkness of the night increased, they were immediately repulsed and put to flight. But as the Athenians advanced in disorder, to force whatever might resist their arms, for fear lest the enemy might rally again, should time be allowed them to breathe and recover from their surprize; they are stopt at once by the Bœotians, who make a vigorous stand; and marching against the Athenians with their pikes downward, they repulse them with great shouts, and make a dreadful slaughter. This spreads an universal terror into the rest of the army. Those who fled either drag along such as were advancing to their assistance; or else, mistaking them for enemies, turn their arms against them. They now were all mixed indiscriminately, it being impossible to discover objects in the horrors of a night,

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which was not so gloomy as to take away the sight of them, nor yet light enough to distinguish those which were seen. The Athenians sought for one another to no purpose; and from their often asking the *word*, by which method only they were able to find out one another, a strange confusion of sounds was heard, which occasioned no little trouble; not to mention that they, by this means, divulged the word to the enemy, and could not learn theirs; because by their being together and in a body, they had no occasion to repeat it. In the mean time, those who were pursued, precipitated themselves from the top of rocks, and many were dashed to pieces by the fall; and as most of those who escaped, straggled from one another up and down the fields and woods, they were cut to pieces the next day by the enemy's horse, who pursued them. Two thousand Athenians were slain in this engagement, and a great number of arms were taken; those who fled having thrown them away, that they might be the better able to escape over the precipices.

S E C T. XIV.

The consternation with which the Athenians are seized. They again hazard a sea-fight, and are defeated. They resolve to retire by land. Being close pursued by the Syracusans, they surrender. Nicias and Demosthenes are sentenced to die, and executed. The effect which the news of the defeat of the army produces in Athens.

Thucyd. l. 7 p. 518-520
Plut. in Nic. p. 538-542
Diod. p. 142.

THE Athenian generals, after sustaining so great a loss, were in a prodigious dilemma. The soldiers were now in a despairing condition, and died daily, either by the diseases that reign in autumn, or by the bad air of the fens near which they were encamped. Demosthenes was of opinion,

on, that it would be proper for them to leave the country immediately, since they had been unsuccessful in so important an enterprize ; especially as the season was not too far advanced for sailing ; and that they had ships enough to force a passage, in case the enemy should dispute it with them. He declared, that it would be of much greater advantage to oblige the enemy to raise their blockade of Athens, than for them to continue that of Syracuse, by which they exhausted themselves to no purpose ; that he was certain a fresh army would not be sent them ; and that they could not hope to overcome the enemy with the feeble one under their command.

Nicias was sensible, that the arguments his colleague had made use of were very just, and he himself was of his opinion : but at the same time he was afraid, lest so publick a confession of the weak condition to which they were reduced, and their resolution to leave Sicily, (the report of which would certainly reach the enemy) should compleat the ruin of their affairs ; and perhaps make them unable to execute their resolution when they should go about it. Besides, they had some little hopes left that the besieged, being themselves reduced to great extremity by their absolute want of provisions and money, would at last be inclined to surrender upon honourable terms. Thus, although he was in reality uncertain and wavering, he yet showed by his expressions, that he did not care to quit Sicily, till the Athenians should have first sent orders for that purpose ; and that otherwise they would be highly displeased : That as those who were to judge them, had not been eye-witnesses to the state of things, they would be of a different opinion ; and then, at the instigation of some orator, would certainly condemn them : That most of those men who now exclaimed with the greatest vehemence against the difficulties they la-

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boured under, would then change their note, and accuse them of having been bribed to raise the siege: That knowing so well as he did the disposition and character of the Athenians, he chose to die gloriously by the enemy's sword, rather than be ignominiously condemned by his fellow-citizens.

These reasons, though they appeared very strong, were yet not able to convince Demosthenes; and it was still his opinion, that the only way left them to secure themselves, would be to leave the country. However, as he had been unsuccessful in his former advice, he was afraid of insisting upon this; and he yielded the sooner to Nicias's counsel, from his imagining, with many others, that this general might have some secret resource, since he was so firmly resolved to stay.

Thucyd.

l. 7. p.

521—548

Plut. in

Nic.

p. 538.

Diod. l. 13.

p. 142—

161.

Gylippus, after having gone round Sicily, had brought a great body of troops with him. This new reinforcement terrified the Athenians exceedingly, whose army diminished daily by sickness; and they now began to repent their not having raised the siege, especially as the besieged were preparing to attack them both by sea and land. Besides, Nicias no longer opposed this resolution, and only desired to have it kept secret. Orders were therefore given, as privately as possible, for the fleet to prepare for setting sail with the utmost expedition.

When all things were ready, the moment they were going to set sail, (wholly unsuspected by the enemy, who were far from surmising they would leave Sicily so soon) the moon was suddenly eclipsed in the middle of the night, and lost all its splendor; which terrified Nicias and the whole army, who, from ignorance and superstition, were astonished at so sudden a change, the causes of which they did not know, and therefore dreaded the consequences of it. They then consulted the sooth-sayers;

fayers ; and these being equally unacquainted with the reasons of this phenomenon; only served to increase the dread. It was the custom among these heathens, after such accidents had happened, to suspend their enterprizes but for three days. The soothsayers pronounced, that he must not set sail till three times nine days were past, (these are Thucydides's words) which doubtless was a mysterious number in the opinion of the people. Nicias, scrupulous to a fault, and full of a mistaken veneration for these blind interpreters of the will of the gods, declared, that he would wait a whole revolution of the moon, and not return till the same day of the next month ; as though he had not seen the planet very clearly, the instant it had emerged from that part which was darkened by the interposition of the earth's body.

But he was not allowed time for this. The news of the intended departure of the Athenians being soon spread over the city, a resolution was taken to attack the besiegers both by sea and land. The Syracusans began the first day by attacking the intrenchments, and gained a slight advantage over the enemy. On the morrow they made a second attack ; and at the same time failed, with seventy six gallies, against eighty six of the Athenians. Eurymedon, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, having spread along the shore to surround them, this movement proved fatal to him : for, as he was detached from the body of the fleet, the Syracusans, after forcing the main battle which was in the center, attacked him ; drove him vigorously into the gulf called Dascon, and there defeated him entirely. Eurymedon lost his life in the engagement. They afterwards gave chase to the rest of the gallies, and run them against the shore. Gylippus, who commanded the land-army, seeing the Athenian gallies were forced aground, and not able to return into their staccado ; landed

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with part of his troops, in order to charge the soldiers, in case they should be forced to run ashore ; and to give his friends the more room to tow such gallies as they should have taken. However, he was repulsed by the Tyrrheni, who kept guard on that side ; and obliged by the Athenians, who flew to sustain them, to retire with some loss as far as the moor called Lyfimelia, which lay near it. The latter saved most of their ships, eighteen excepted, which were taken by the Syracusans, and their crews cut to pieces by them. After this, resolving to burn the rest, they filled an old vessel with combustible materials ; and having set fire to it, they drove it by the help of the wind against the Athenians, who nevertheless extinguished the fire, and drove off that ship.

Each side erected trophies : the Syracusans for the defeat of Eurymedon, and the advantage they had gained the day before : and the Athenians, for their having drove part of the enemy into the moor, and put the other part to flight. But the minds of the two nations were very differently disposed. The Syracusans, who had been thrown into the utmost consternation at the arrival of Demosthenes with his fleet, seeing themselves victorious in a naval engagement, resumed fresh hope, and were persuaded they should gain a complete victory over their enemies. The Athenians, on the contrary, frustrated of their only resource, and overcome by sea so contrary to their expectations, quite lost their courage, and only thought of retreating.

The enemy, to prevent their escaping, shut the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with gallies placed crosswise, and other vessels fixed with anchors and iron chains ; and at the same time made the requisite preparations for the battle, in case they should have the courage to engage again. When the Athenians

themians saw themselves thus hemmed in, the generals and principal officers assembled, in order to deliberate on the present state of affairs. They were in absolute want of provisions, which was owing to their having forbid the people of Catana to bring any, from the hopes they entertained of their being able to retire; and they could not procure any from other places, unless they were masters of the sea. This made them resolve to venture a sea-fight. In this view, they were determined to leave their old camp, and their walls, which extended to the temple of Hercules; and to intrench themselves on the shore, near their ships, in the smallest compass possible. Their design was, to leave some forces in that place to guard their baggage and the sick; and to fight with the rest on board all the ships they should have saved. They intended to retire into Catana, in case they should be victorious; otherwise, to set fire to their ships, and to march by land to the nearest city belonging to their allies.

This resolution being taken, Nicias immediately filled an hundred and ten gallies (the others having lost their oars) with the flower of his infantry; and drew up the rest of the forces, particularly the bowmen, in order of battle on the shore. As the Athenians dreaded very much the beaks of the Syracusan gallies, Nicias had provided harping-irons to grapple them, in order to break the force of the blow, and to come immediately to close fight, as on shore. But the enemy perceiving this, covered the prows and upper parts of their gallies with leather, to prevent their being so easily laid hold off. The commanders on both sides had employed all their rhetoric to animate their men; and none could ever have been prompted from stronger motives; for the battle which was going to be fought, was to determine,

DARIUS not only their lives and liberties; but also the fate
NOTHUS of their country.

The battle was very obstinate and bloody. The Athenians being arrived at the mouth of the port, easily took those ships which defended the entrance of it; but, when they attempted to break the chain of the rest, to widen the passage, the enemy came up from all quarters. As near two hundred gallies came rushing, on each side, in a narrow place, there must necessarily be a very great confusion; and the vessels could not easily advance forward, or retire, nor turn about to renew the attack. The beaks of the gallies, for this reason, did very little execution; but there were very furious and frequent discharges. The Athenians were overpowered with a shower of stones, which always do execution from what place soever they are thrown; whereas they defended themselves only by shooting darts and arrows, which, by the motion of the ships, that were tossed about by the sea, did not carry true, and by that means the greatest part of them did little execution. Ariston the pilot, had given the Syracusans this counsel. These discharges being over, the soldiers, heavily armed, attempted to enter the enemy's ships in order to fight hand to hand: and it often happened, that whilst they were climbing up one side, theirs were entered at the other; and two or three ships would be grappled to one, which occasioned a great perplexity and confusion. Farther, the noise of the ships that bulged one against the other, the different cries of the victors and vanquished, prevented the orders of the officers from being heard. The Athenians wanted to force a passage, whatever might be the consequence, to secure their return into their own country; and this the enemy employed their utmost efforts to prevent, in order that they might gain a more compleat and more glorious victory. The two land-armies, which
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were drawn up on the highest part of the shore, ^{DARIUS} and the inhabitants of the city who were got upon ^{NOTHUS.} the walls; whilst the rest, kneeling in the temples, were imploring heaven to give success to their citizens; all, these saw clearly, because of their little distance from the fleets, every thing that passed; and contemplated the battle as from an amphitheatre, but not without dread. Attentive to, and shuddering at every movement, and the several changes which happened; they discovered the interest they took in the battle, their fears or their hopes, their grief or their joy, by different cries and different gestures; stretching forth their hands, sometimes towards the combatants to animate them, and at other times towards heaven, to implore the succour and protection of the gods. At last, the Athenian fleet, after sustaining a long combat, and making a stout resistance, was put to flight, and drove against the shore. The Syracusans, who were spectators of this victory, acquainted the whole city, by an universal shout, with the news of this victory. The victors, now masters of the sea, and sailing with a favourable wind towards Syracuse, erected a trophy; whilst the Athenians, who were quite dejected and overpowered, did not so much as attempt to request that their dead soldiers might be delivered to them, in order to pay the last sad duty to their remains.

There now remained but two methods for them to chuse; either to attempt the passage a second time, for which they had ships and soldiers sufficient; or to abandon their fleet to the enemy, and retire by land. Demosthenes proposed the former; but the sailors, in the deepest affliction, refused to obey; fully persuaded that it would be impossible for them to sustain a second engagement. The second method was therefore resolved upon, and accordingly they prepared to set out in
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DARIUS the night, to conceal the march of their army
NOTHUS. from the enemy.

But Hermocrates, who suspected their design, was very sensible that it was of the utmost importance not to suffer so great a body of forces to escape; since they otherwise might fortify themselves in some corner of the island, and there begin a new war. The Syracusans were at that time in the midst of their festivity and rejoycings; and meditating nothing but how they might best divert themselves, after the toils they had sustained in fight. It was the festival of Hercules which they were then solemnizing. To desire the Syracusans to take up arms again, in order to pursue the enemy; and to attempt to draw them from their diversions either by force or persuasion, would have been to no purpose; for which reason another expedient was employed. Hermocrates sent a few horsemen, who were to pass for friends of the Athenians, and ordered them to cry aloud: "Bid Nicias not retire till day-light; for the Syracusans lie in ambush for him, and have seized on the passes." This false advice stopt Nicias at once; and he did not even set out the next day, in order that the soldiers might have more time to prepare for their departure; and carry off whatever might be necessary for their subsistence, and leave the rest to the enemy.

The enemy had time sufficient for seizing upon the avenues. The next morning early, they possessed themselves of the most difficult passes, fortified those places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and spread detachments of horse up and down the plain; so that there was not one outlet through which the Athenians could get away without fighting. They set out upon their march the third day after the battle, in the design of retiring to Catana. The whole army was in an inexpressible consternation, to see
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such great numbers of men, either dead or dying, some of whom were left exposed to wild beasts, and the rest to the cruelty of the enemy. Those who were sick and wounded conjured them, with tears, to take them along with the army ; and held by their clothes when they were going ; or else, dragging themselves after them, followed them as far as their strength would permit ; and, when this failed, they had recourse to tears, sighs, imprecations ; and sending up towards heaven plaintive and dying groans, they called upon the gods as well as men to revenge the cruelty they met with, and every place echoed with lamentations.

The whole army was in a deplorable state. All men were seized with the deepest melancholy. They were inwardly tortured with spite and rage, when they represented to themselves the greatness from which they were fallen, the extreme misery to which they were reduced ; and the still greater evils from which, they foresaw, it would be impossible for them to escape. They could not bear the comparison which was for ever imaging itself to their minds, viz. the triumphant state in which they had left Athens, in the midst of the good wishes and acclamations of the people ; with the ignominy of their retreat, aggravated by the cries and imprecations of their relations and fellow-citizens.

But the most melancholy part of the spectacle, and that which most deserved compassion, was Nicias. Dejected and worn out by a tedious illness ; deprived of the most necessary things, at a time when his age and infirmities required them most ; pierced, not only with his particular grief, but with that of others, all which he bore in his own mind ; this great man, superiour to all his evils, thought of nothing but how he might best comfort his soldiers, and rouse their courage. He ran up and down in all places, crying aloud, that

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matters were not yet desperate, and that other armies had escaped from greater dangers ; that they ought not to accuse themselves, or grieve too immoderately, for misfortunes which they had not occasioned ; that if they had offended some god, his vengeance must be satiated by this time ; that fortune, after having so long favoured the enemy, would at last be tired of persecuting them ; that their bravery and their numbers made them still formidable, (they being then near forty thousand strong ;) that no city in Sicily would be able to withstand them, nor prevent their settling wherever they might think proper ; that they had no more to do, but to take care, severally, of themselves, and march in good order ; that by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only resource, they would not only save themselves, but also their country, and enable it to recover its former grandeur.

The army marched in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx ; the first being commanded by Nicias, and the second by Demosthenes, with the baggage in the center. Being come to the river Anapis, they forced the passage, and afterwards were charged by all the enemy's cavalry, as well as the bowmen, who were incessantly shooting at them. They were annoyed in this manner during several days march ; every one of the outlets being guarded, and the Athenians being obliged to fight every inch of their way. The enemy did not care to hazard a battle against an army which despair alone might render invincible ; and, the instant the Athenians presented the Syracusans battle, the latter retired ; but whenever the former would proceed in their march, they then came forward, and fell upon them in their retreat.

Demosthenes and Nicias, seeing the miserable condition to which the troops were reduced, they
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being in extreme want of provisions, and great numbers of them wounded, judged it advisable to retire towards the sea, by a quite contrary way from that in which they were then going; and to march directly towards Camarina and Gela, instead of proceeding to Catana as they first intended. They set out in the night, after lighting a great number of fires. The retreat was made in great confusion and disorder, as generally happens to great armies, in the gloomy horrors of the night, especially when the enemy is not far off. However, the vanguard, commanded by Nicias, came forward in good order; but above half the rear-guard, with Demosthenes at their head, drew off from the main-body, and lost their way. On the morrow the Syracusans, who, on the report of their retreat, had marched with the utmost diligence, came up with him about noon; and having surrounded him with their horse, they drove him into a narrow place that was inclosed with a wall, where his soldiers fought like lions. Perceiving, at the close of the day, that they were oppressed with weariness, and covered with wounds, they gave the islanders leave to retire, which some of them accepted; and they afterwards spared the lives of the rest, who surrendered at discretion with Demosthenes, after having stipulated, that they should not be put to death, nor sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. About six thousand soldiers surrendered on these conditions.

Nicias arrived the same evening at the river Erineus, and crossing it, encamped on a mountain, where the enemy came up with them the next day, and summoned him to surrender at discretion, as Demosthenes had done. Nicias could not persuade himself at first, that what they told him concerning that general was true, and therefore desired leave to send some troopers to enquire about it. They bringing him word that Demosthenes had

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really surrendered in that manner, Nicias offered to pay the expences of the war, upon condition that they would permit him to leave the country with his forces, and to give as many Athenians for hostages, as they should be obliged to pay talents. But the enemy rejected this proposal with disdain and insolence, and renewed the onset. Nicias, though in absolute want of all things, he yet sustained the attack the whole night, and marched towards the river Asinarus. When they were got to the banks of it, the Syracusans advancing up to them, threw most of them into the stream; the rest having already plunged voluntarily into it to quench their thirst. Here the greatest and most bloody havock was made, the poor wretches being butchered without the least pity as they were drinking. Nicias, finding all lost, and unable to bear this dismal spectacle, surrendered at discretion; upon condition that Gylippus should discontinue the fight, and spare the rest of his army. A great number were killed, and more taken prisoners, so that all Sicily was filled with them. The Athenians seemed to have been displeased with their general, for surrendering in this manner at discretion; and, for this reason, his name was omitted in a publick monument, on which was engraved the names of those commanders who had lost their lives in fighting for their country.

Pausan.

l. 1. p. 56.

The victors embellished, with the arms taken from the prisoners, the finest and largest trees they could find on the banks of the rivers, and made a kind of trophies of those trees; when crowning themselves with chaplets of flowers, dressing their horses in the richest caparisons, and cropping those of their enemies, they entered triumphantly into Syracuse, after having ended auspiciously the most considerable war in which they had ever been engaged with the Greeks; and won, by their strength and valour, a most signal and most complete

pleat victory. The next day, a council was held, ^{DARIUS} to deliberate on what was to be done with the pri- ^{NOTHUS.} soners. Diocles, one of the leaders of greatest authority among the people, proposed as follows: That all the Athenians who were born of free parents, and all such Sicilians as had joined with them, should be imprisoned in the stone-quarries, where only two measures of flower, and one of water should be given them daily; that the slaves and all the allies should be publicly sold; and that the two Athenian generals, should be first scourged with rods, and afterwards put to death.

This last article shocked in a prodigious degree, ^{Diod. l. 13.} all wise and compassionate Syracusans. Hermo- ^{p. 149.} crates, who was very famous for his probity and — ^{161.} justice, attempted to make some remonstrances to the people; but they would not hear him; and the shouts which echoed on all sides, prevented him from continuing his speech. But now an * ^{Nicolaus.} ancient man, venerable for his great age and gravity, who, in this war, had lost two sons, the only heirs to his name and estate, made his servants carry him to the rostra (if I may be allowed that term,) and the instant he appeared a profound silence was made. “ You here behold, says he, “ an unfortunate father, who has felt, more than “ any other Syracusan, the fatal effects of this “ war by the death of two sons, who formed all “ the consolation, and were the only supports of “ my old age. I cannot indeed forbear admiring “ their courage and felicity, in sacrificing, to their “ country’s welfare, a life of which they would “ one day have been deprived by the common “ course of nature: but then I cannot but be “ strongly affected with the cruel wound which “ their death has made in my heart; nor forbear “ hating and detesting the Athenians, who first “ lighted up this unhappy war, as the murderers “ of

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“ of my children. But however, I cannot conceal one circumstance, which is, that I am less sensible to my private affliction, than to the honour of my country : and I see it exposed to eternal infamy, by the barbarous advice which is now given you. The Athenians indeed, merit the worst treatment and every kind of punishment that could be inflicted on them, for so unjustly declaring war against us ; but have not the gods, the just avengers of crimes, punished them and revenged us sufficiently ? When their generals laid down their arms, and surrendered, did they not do this in the hopes of having their lives spared ? And, if we put them to death, will it be possible for us to avoid the just reproach, of our having violated the law of nations, and dishonoured your victory by an unheard-of cruelty ? How ? Will you suffer your glory to be thus sullied in the face of the whole world ; and have it be said, that a nation, who first dedicated a temple in their city to clemency, had not found any in yours ? Surely victories and triumphs do not give immortal glory to a city ; but the exercising mercy towards a vanquished enemy, the using moderation in the greatest prosperity, and fearing to anger the gods by a haughty and insolent pride ? You doubtless have not forgot that this Nicias, whose fate you are going to pronounce, was the very man who pleaded your cause in the assembly of the Athenians ; and employed all his credit and the whole power of his eloquence, to dissuade his countrymen from embarking in this war. Should you therefore pronounce sentence of death on this worthy general, would it be a just reward for the zeal he showed for your interest ? With regard to my self, death would be less grievous to me, than

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“ the sight of so horrid an injustice, committed
 “ by my countrymen and fellow-citizens.”

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The people seemed moved to compassion at this speech, especially as, when this venerable old man first went up into the rostra, they expected to hear him cry aloud for vengeance on those who had brought all his calamities upon him, instead of suing for their pardon. But the enemies of the Athenians, having expatiated with vehemence, on the unheard-of cruelties which their republick had exercised on several cities belonging to their enemies and even to their ancient allies; the inveteracy which their commanders had shown against Syracuse, and the evils they would have made it suffer had they been victorious; the afflictions and groans of a numberless multitude of Syracusans, who bewailed the death of their children and near kindred, whose manes could be appeased no other way than by the blood of their murderers: on these representations, the people returned to their sanguinary resolution, and followed Diocles's advice in every respect. Gylippus used his utmost endeavours, but in vain, to have Nicias and Demosthenes given up to him, (especially as he had taken them) in order for him to carry them to Lacedæmonia. But his demand was rejected with a haughty scorn, and the two generals were put to death.

All wise and compassionate men could not forbear shedding tears, for the tragical death of two such illustrious personages; and particularly for Nicias, who, of all men of his time, seemed least to merit so ignominious and untimely an end. When men recollected the words he had spoke, and the remonstrances he had made, to prevent this war; and, on the other side, when they considered how high a regard he had ever shown to all things relating to religion; the greatest part of them were tempted to exclaim against providence, in seeing that a man, who had ever shown

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the highest reverence for the gods; and had always exerted himself to the utmost, to increase their honour and worship, should be so ill rewarded by them, and meet with no better fate than the most abandoned wretches. But it is no wonder that the calamities of good men should inspire the heathens with such thoughts, and make them murmur and despond; since they did not know the holiness of the Divine Being, nor the corruption of human nature.

The prisoners were shut up in the stone-quarries, where, crowded one upon the other, they suffered incredible torments for eight months. Here they were for ever exposed to the inclemencies of the weather; scorched, in the day-time, by the burning rays of the sun, or frozen, in the night, by the colds of autumn; poisoned by the stench of their own excrements, by the carcases of those who died of their wounds and of sickness; in fine, worn out by hunger and thirst, for their daily allowance to each was but a small measure of water, and two of meat. Those who were taken out of those quarries two months after, in order to be sold as slaves (many whereof were citizens who had disguised their condition) found a less rigorous fate. Their wisdom, their patience, and a certain air of probity and modesty were of great advantage to them; for, they were soon restored to their liberty, or met with the most handsome and generous treatment from their masters. Several of them even owed the kind usage they were indulged with, to Euripides, the finest scenes of whose tragedies they had repeated to the Sicilians, who were extremely fond of them; so that being returned to their own country, they went and saluted that poet as their deliverer; and informed him of the admirable effects wrought in their favour, by his verses.

The advice of the defeat being carried to Athens, the citizens would not at first believe it; and were so far from crediting such news, that they sentenced that man to death who had first published it. But when it was confirmed, all the Athenians were seized with the utmost consternation; when, as though they themselves had not proclaimed war; they vented their spite and rage against the orators who had promoted the enterprize, as well as against the soothsayers, who, by their oracles or supposed prodigies, had flattered them with the hopes of success. They had never been reduced to so deplorable a condition as now; they having neither horse, foot, money, galleys or sailors; in a word, they were in the deepest despair, expecting every moment that the enemy, elated with their mighty victory, and strengthened by the revolt of the allies, would come and fall at once upon Athens, both by sea and land, with all the forces of Peloponnesus. Cicero had reason to observe *, speaking of the naval engagements fought in the harbour of Syracuse, that it was there the troops of Athens as well as their galleys, were ruined and sunk; and that, in this harbour, the power and glory of the Athenians were miserably shipwrecked.

The Athenians were nevertheless not quite dejected, but again roused their courage. They now resolved to raise money from all quarters, and to get timber for building of ships, in order to awe the allies, and particularly the inhabitants of the island of Eubœa. They retrenched all superfluous expences, and established a new council of antient men, who were to weigh and examine all affairs before they should be brought before the

DARIUS
NOTHUS
Thucyd.
l. 8. p. 551
—553.
Plut. de
Garrulit.
p. 509.

* Hic primum opes illius civitatis victæ, comminutæ, depressæque sunt: in hoc portu Atheniensium nobilitatis, imperii, gloriæ naufragium factum existimatur. *Cic. Ferrin. 7. n. 97.*

DARIUS people. In fine, they did not omit any particular
NOTHUS. which might be of service in the present juncture;
the alarm in which they were in, and their common danger, obliging every individual to be watchful over the necessities of the state, and to receive with humility any good counsel which might be given them.

I cannot here end the history of the war of Peloponnesus; and therefore am obliged, contrary to my intention, to refer the conclusion of it to the next volume. The defeat of the army under Nicias, was followed by the taking of Athens, whose antient form of government was quite changed by Lyfander.

The End of VOL. III.



